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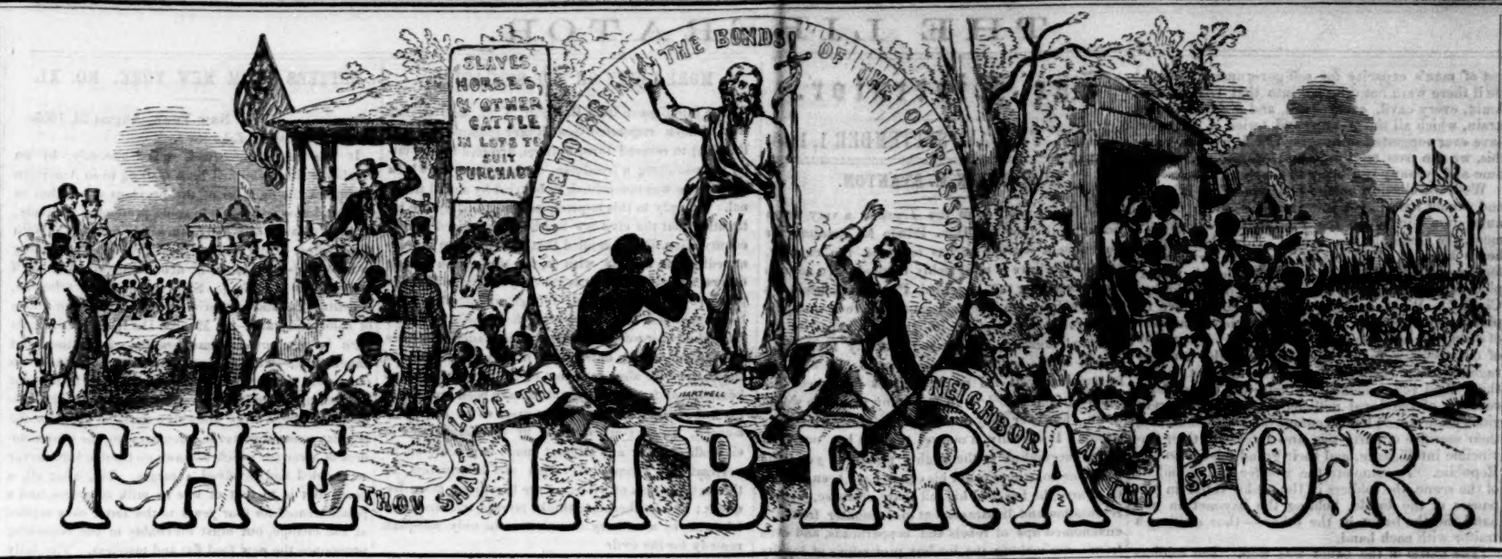
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
I COME TO PROCLAIM LIBERTY TO THE CAPTIVES & THE OPENING OF THE PRISON TO THEM THAT ARE BOUND
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
THE LIBERATOR.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of SLAVERY, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

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Selections.

THE PROGRESS OF EMANCIPATION IN RUSSIA.

[We have the grateful privilege of laying before our readers a letter from a veteran philanthropist—perhaps, if we except Lord Brougham, the earliest living advocate of emancipation. Monsieur Tourgueneff belongs by birth to the Russian nobility. He participated in the closing campaigns of the final coalition against Napoleon I., and afterwards held a high office in the state department of his native country, and was the intimate and respected adviser of Alexander I. When that well-meaning but feeble-willed monarch died in 1825, there was an *émute* in favor of a constitutional government which was promptly and bloodily suppressed by Nicholas. M. Tourgueneff, who was at that time abroad for his health, was most unjustly implicated in this attempt, and capitally condemned. From that time till 1857, as he states below, he lived an exile, for some time in England, but chiefly in France, his real cause of offence being not his political views which were indeed liberal, but his conspicuous zeal in behalf of his unfortunate countrymen who languished in serfdom. In 1847 he published a work entitled "Russia and the Russians," in three volumes, in which he both gave a sketch of his own life and efforts in behalf of emancipation, and discussed at length the plan which, in his mature judgment, would be most successful for that desirable end. He there expressed his conviction that the deliverer of the serfs could be no other than the autocrat himself, and events have approved his sagacity. A few weeks ago, we wrote to congratulate him on the accomplishment of his heart's desire, and to express the hope that he might favor *The Nation*, and through it the people of the United States, with his observations of the workings of emancipation in Russia. The following is his response. It is doubly valuable from its direct and indirect bearing upon the two great questions that concern the freedmen of America—land and suffrage.—*Ed. Nation.*]

To the Editor of The Nation:

You are quite right when you mention the immense satisfaction I felt in seeing, by the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, the wishes of my whole life fulfilled. After thirty-three years of absence, it was given me to see my native land again. It was in 1857, the memorable moment when the Emperor Alexander first raised the question of emancipation, and declared it was time for it to be accomplished. As might have been expected, the idea of emancipation met with great opposition from different sides. Yet, I must say, the opposition was directed not so much against the personal emancipation of the serfs as against the appropriation to them, when liberated, of the land they held. The proprietors, assembled in different committees which were established all over the empire to discuss the matter, ended even by giving up their right of possession in the person of the serf, and, mentioning only their right to the land occupied by the peasants, claimed pecuniary indemnities if that land were delivered to them. The honorable gentlemen whom the Emperor entrusted with this important task, forming a committee *ad hoc*, declared from the first as a principle that the emancipated peasants must have land, about in the same quantity as they had hitherto occupied, on condition of a pecuniary indemnity to be paid to the proprietors. That principle prevailed, thanks to the Emperor's firmness.

During the discussion of that question in Russia, I published several writings on the matter.* My chief purpose and warmest desire being to secure to the peasants as soon as possible their personal freedom and complete liberty of labor, I proposed a method of emancipation claiming the entire property of their homes—that is to say, cottages and orchards, and a small quantity of arable land, and that without the slightest indemnity from them to their masters, which was to be left to Government. A sum of about two hundred millions of dollars, according to my calculation, would have been sufficient for it.

Meanwhile, I inherited a small landed property,† inhabited by about four hundred persons of both sexes. I hastened to Russia, and put in practice my method. I abandoned one-third of the land, including their houses, to the peasants, and let them the two remaining thirds for a certain sum of money. In my agreement with them it was settled that, if the emancipation which the Government was preparing (1859) turned out more advantageous to them, they were to accept it in preference to mine. It is needless to add, that when the official emancipation was proclaimed, the peasants and myself found it more advantageous, and adopted it. If I were to compare the two methods, I should say that mine tended chiefly to the liberty of the peasants' person and labor, and that of the Goverment to give them a quantity of land sufficient for their subsistence. The great inconvenience of this last method is, that it obliges the peasants to pay a heavy rent to redeem their land, and that during forty-nine years! Nevertheless, their passion to possess land is so strong that they cheerfully submit to such hard conditions. The redeeming rent (*rente de rachat*) must be paid by the peasants either in money, according to an estimation fixed by law, or by work done by the proprietor, i. e., by *corvées*. This last mode of payment, sanctioned by law only for a short period, disappears more and more every day, so that the majority of the peasants even now do not work for the proprietors, but pay their rent in money. I can say more: about two millions of peasants are now entirely liberated with regard to the proprietors, thanks to an immediate payment of the redeeming rent. In such cases their annual rent (*redevance*) is capitalized, and the Government gives the proprietor an obligation for the amount of the capital, which bears five per cent. interest, and will be redeemed in the course of forty-nine years by annual drawings (*tirages*). The peasants then pay their redeeming rent to Government, and thus become free and independent proprietors. Since some time, both peasants and proprietors seem to find this proceeding the most profitable, and agreements of this kind become more and more frequent every day.

I can hardly say how happy I was when I saw, last year, for the first time, my dear, beloved, and deeply respected Russian peasants free at last, and proprietors of the land they had till then cultivated as serfs! What a change! The same creatures, serfs yesterday, are now men, conscious of their human dignity; their aspect, their language, are those of free men. In the meanwhile, in getting rid of their serfdom, they have preserved their usual good sense, wisdom, and *bonhomie:* no impertinence, no arrogance whatever, can be detected in them; they are full of self-respect, yet polite. I saw them discussing with the authorities some business of theirs: they maintained their new rights, and when wrong, never hesitated to acknowledge it. You may have seen in my book,* sir, that I always had a high opinion of the Russian peasants' moral qualities. Well, all I saw last year was beyond my expectation.

Your reformers can tell you, that, in loving dearly the slaves, one can hardly help feeling a very different sentiment towards their owners. To be fair, I must say that I am perfectly reconciled with the Russian proprietors. Although many of them were not delighted with emancipation, now it is accomplished there is no vestige of animosity between the two classes, nobles and peasants: a happy reconciliation has taken place. It is true, in this again example came from the peasants; the great merit of the nobles is in having at last acknowledged their moral worth.

You will excuse me, sir, if I go on praising the Russian peasants; but quite lately their behavior, in circumstances very important for themselves and the country in general, was so striking and noble that it deserves the attention of every serious and benevolent man. The facts are these. You perhaps have read in the newspapers that the Russian Government issued a law on the municipal organization of the country. It is founded upon just and wise principles; it is very like what was formerly tried in France by the celebrated Turgot, or what exists now in Belgium, and is by far more liberal than the present French municipal system.

Every district and every *chef-lieu* has every year an assembly of deputies who name a permanent committee for three years. This committee is charged with the municipal administration, under the control of the assembly. Every one is called by law to the election of deputies. Well, it happened in many places that the peasants were the more numerous, and could, therefore, dispose of all the places in the administrative committee. They were so informed. "No," was their answer; "we want one or two members of the committee taken from amongst ourselves: they will watch over our interests. As for defending them, as for *action*, the nobles we name will do it better than we, for they are more learned than we are." In one of the assemblies the nobles, moved by the tact and moderation of the peasants, insisted, and almost forced a peasant to become president of the administrative committee of the district. When the salary of the members of the committee had to be decided, the peasants generally considered it too high for them, and, letting the nobles and the merchants have it, got it diminished by one-half for themselves. We must not forget that the men who behave in this way towards their former lords and masters were serfs yesterday, and that they are for the first time called to discuss not only their own affairs—which they were used to, thanks to the ancient organization of the Russian commune—but the general affairs of a whole district also. Do not think, however, that their modesty reaches total abnegation. In one district the nobles, full of the prejudices which are now so absurd, showed some displeasure in finding themselves side by side with peasants, acting the same part as they, voting with them, and so on. There the peasants knew how to maintain their rights and independence, and voted for men of their own class.

All the district assemblies, after having voted the formation of the administrative committee, name the deputies for the larger assembly in the chief town in the province, which, of its turn, chooses among its own members the members for the provincial administrative committee. The central committee seems to interest the peasants less than those of the districts, and this too is owing to their modesty and moderation. In the course of time they will learn that they, as well as the nobles, can play a part in the general committees.

Another field is offered by the new law to the activity of the peasants in the local or municipal tribunals. The law unites several rural communes in one canton (*volost*). Each canton, each commune, chooses an *ancient*, assisted by a *conceil*. In every canton is a tribunal to judge the peasants' affairs. Ancients and judges are elected by peasants; noblemen are not submitted to these tribunals, but it has happened that some of them preferred having their difficulties with peasants settled by municipal judges rather than by the usual tribunals. This jurisdiction, established merely for peasants, has great importance, owing chiefly to the privilege of deciding, not only according to general law, but also according to local customs. Opportunities have not been wanting for the good sense of the peasants to show itself in these municipal tribunals and councils, and the success of the institution is clear to every one.

After expatiating at such length on the Russian emancipation, allow me, sir, to say a few words about another emancipation also accomplished by the Russian Government. I am the more desirous because it seems to me to be little known in Europe, and to be appreciated in a very insufficient and erroneous manner. I mean the emaucipation in the Kingdom of Poland. The Polish peasants in the grand duchy of Warsaw were, it is true, proclaimed personally free by a decree of Napoleon I., and the introduction of the French *cole civil;* but, in fact, they remained in the same condition as before, on account of the law which united in the hands of the proprietor the judicial and executive power, with the right of corporal punishment. The peasants were always unhappy in Poland: the Polish aristocracy, whom history adorns with such brilliant qualities, could never be praised for the Christian virtue of brotherly love, if they ever considered the peasants as brethren. Their indifference for the fate of the peasants contributed most to the decline and fall of that unfortunate nation. A paper published in the *Quarterly Review* (April, 1863) exposes the state of Poland in that respect in a very striking manner. I have explained with some detail the emancipation of the Polish peasants in a paper, written in Russia, which I intend publishing. The third and last chapter speaks of the Kingdom of Poland, and is translated in French. That translation, as yet unprinted, I can send you if you like, and you may put it to whatever purpose you choose.

I have felt, as you may well imagine, the most sincere interest in all that has been going on in America during these latter years. I lamented, from the depths of my soul, the death of your President, who, by the strength of his honesty, the firmness of his noble mind, placed his name in history next to the greatest man of modern times, your immortal Washington! I lamented his death the more because his latest speeches and manifestations made us hope that the glorious triumph of the North Americans would put an end to all the evils suffered by every one in your country. The promoters of the criminal and immoral insurrection have undoubtedly deserved the highest punishment, but they have undergone it already, they suffer it still. In fact, what punishment can be more cruel than to witness the whole world applauding the triumph of the North, the triumph of right and liberty, and the total ruin of the cause those miserable men have been fighting for? Compared with such a failure, all ordinary punishment seems a trifle, a deliverance rather.

As to the negroes, who must just now particularly preoccupy those who have spent their lives in defending the unhappy creatures, I see with intense pleasure that many distinguished men in America are trying to secure for them the right of suffrage. As I write, I have on my table the *Anti-Slavery Standard* of July 1, and I find therein Gov. Holden's discourse the following words: "No people has ever yet bounded at once into the full enjoyment of the right of self-government." It seems to me that the poor negroes, in receiving the right of suffrage, would not, by that alone, enjoy at once self-government; and I think that, putting aside both right and expediency, the general welfare requires the removal (as far as it is possible) of all the barriers that unfortunately exist between the two races. If you deprive the blacks of the right of suffrage, you continue to keep them aside, separated from the community; and, in spite of personal liberty, they will always be considered by the whites and by themselves as pariahs; and that feeling has certainly its inconveniences—even its dangers. One must not chaffer with man for the rights of man. The rights that law, in whatever country, gives men must be the same for every one. The words of the Hon. Governor find, in my opinion, a striking refutation in what took place and is still taking place in Russia and Poland. The peasants there did not "bound at once" from the state of serfs to that of freemen, but enjoy, nevertheless, as real a self-government as the political state of the countries allows. Evidently our peasants were in a condition far superior to that of the negroes, but it is just on account of their inferiority that the most efficacious means must be employed to change their state; and nothing can be better than the right of suffrage, elevating them at once to the same level with the whites. Prejudices alone would then remain to be deplored and fought against; the law would be free from all reproach, the legislator would have done all he could possibly do.

Under the impression of what is going on in my own country, I cannot help wishing that the Americans would give the freedmen some land, not, of course, in sending them to settle far away as colons, but in allowing them to settle wherever they can have some land of their own. Then only will they feel and appreciate the advantages of a free and independent life. Then only will they try to increase their welfare, and that would certainly give hands to the great proprietors for cultivating their cotton. The freedman, when once he has understood the advantages of working on his small bit of land, will not be satisfied with it alone: he will go and look for other work, in order to make his life more and more easy and happy.

Accept, sir, my best compliments and kind regard.

N. TOURGUENEFF.

Vert-Bois, July 14, 1865.

* "L'organisation des biens des Apanages, en vue de l'emancipation des paysans seigneuriaux." [Aug., 1857.] "Résumé des disposition basées sur le rescrit impérial du 20 novembre, 1857." [Mar., 1858.] "Pora! (Il est temps!)" [Oct., 1856—July, 1858.] "La question de l'émancipation et la question de l'administration des paysans." [Oct., 1858.] "Un dernier mot sur l'émancipation des serfs en Russie." [1860.] Besides numerous articles.—*Ed. Nation.*

† The commune of Starodoub.—*Ed. Nation.*

* "The class of Russian serfs has always been, above and before all, the object of my affections—affections the more lively as I have never seen any one render these men the justice which is their due. . . . Yes, I love these good Russian serfs, and, even to the sacred beard which still distinguishes them, everything in them is for me an object of respect." [*La Russie et les Russes*, 1847.]—*Ed. Nation.*

SPEECH OF GEN. SCHENCK.

Gen. Schenck delivered an address at Portsmouth, Ohio, on the 18th inst., in which he repeated the declarations concerning the President's policy made in his Chillicothe speech. At Portsmouth the General spoke as follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY.

I may be allowed to say here, that I had an interview with the President just before I left Washington, some ten days ago, before coming home to meet my fellow-citizens in the canvass for the approaching election. I sought that interview for the special purpose of informing myself as to his views in reference to the executive power, and his general purpose as to the restoration of the rebellious States. I knew the frankness of his character, his devotion to the country, the energy with which, having determined in his own mind what is right, he would pursue it to the end; I knew the resolve, which he boldly expressed on the floor of the Senate in the commencement of this struggle, denouncing the traitors as they deserved; and I knew that, though he might make some mistake, there could be no mistake about his patriotism, and that that resolution would be carried out to its fullest extent. With this confidence in our chief ruler, I sought an interview with him.

In that interview I expressed to him the doubt and jealousy that existed in the minds of the people of the country, and especially in the minds of the people of Ohio—doubts whether, under the policy he had adopted, we were not going too fast in bringing back by untried processes these rebel States into full communion with those that had never left the Union fold. I told him that that doubt might perhaps rest on a misunderstanding as to the extent to which he proposed to carry that policy. I said, and I think you will justify me in having said so, that if his purpose was to establish temporary governments, experimental in their nature, by the appointment of these provisional officers, in order to test their disposition to go ahead, and come back in good faith, and with the full purpose of abiding by their obligations to the national government; and if, in addition to that, he proposed to keep enough of the military power stationed in different parts of the late rebellious States to supervise their conduct, and reach forward the strong hand, if necessary, to keep them in the right way, we would be satisfied with such experiments. And, moreover, I said we would be better satisfied still if we should definitely understand that it was no purpose of the Executive to forestall the action of Congress, the representatives of the people, but that when they should assemble and determine whether, in addition to having their local executive privilege in the States, these people were ready to return to full communion with the government, by being represented in the councils of the nation.

I am glad to be able to say that the assurance I had from the President justifies me in saying that, although this was the policy he meant to pursue, it was only an experiment. He said that he had no purpose of interfering with the action of Congress: the experiments being made were but a preparation of these people for a better and more improved condition. And so far as keeping watch over them by armed force is concerned, he pointed to what had taken place in Richmond, Virginia, and assured me that where they acted in bad faith by selecting men for office because they were rebels, the military would be ready to sweep away their work. [Cheers.]

With this understanding, I for one, as a citizen of Ohio, and representing a portion of her people, stand here to-day, giving my unqualified support to the course pursued now by our President, intending to wait and see what will be the outcome of this erring people.

THE NEGROES.

Everybody knows how, during the progress of this rebellion, we have had to contrast black patriots with white rebels. Everybody knows that while the white people of the South have nearly unanimously lifted their parricidal hands to strike down our national flag and destroy the government it represents, the poor, oppressed and downtrodden black men, even the slaves upon their plantations, have sympathized with our Union soldiers, and served them in every possible way. Everybody knows that not only has this been their universal disposition toward the Union cause, but that in the dark hours of the nation's trial, when the struggle was so evenly balanced that the worst fate was feared for our cause, these blacks were called upon to furnish their arms, their hearts, their life-blood, in the contest that was to settle our common destiny. And this day we have more than 100,000 of them bearing their muskets, under the stars and stripes of our country. Something, therefore, is due to them; how it shall be paid is a question yet to be decided. The President has thought it well, in attempting to lead these insurrectionary States back, to interfere as little as possible with the laws of their several States. He has, therefore, when calling upon them to present Constitutions that shall be satisfactory to the rest of the nation, asked that they be presented as coming from those who possessed the right of suffrage before the rebellion, and were willing now to purge themselves of the disabilities to which they have recently been subjected.

We know not what sort of Constitution they may present; whether they will provide for the enfranchisement of their late slaves, or whether they will continue to deny it to them. But I take the bold stand here, and am prepared to maintain it, that when they present their Constitutions, whether they provide for negroes voting or not, until a further condition is complied with I shall oppose their readmission to the privileges of the other States. As far as voting is concerned, I am free to admit that I would rather have the vote of a black man with a white heart than the vote of a white man with a black and rebellious heart. [Cheers.] But I am not willing to receive either of them yet. [Renewed cheers.] I am for keeping all of them out yet awhile. I am for waiting until the work is finished—until I have proof of such disposition on the part of the rebels as will insure that no other rebellion will again break out, and destroy our peace and prosperity.

THE QUESTION OF SUFFRAGE—A PROPOSITION.

* * * If no other representative of the people makes the proposition before me, I pledge to you my promise that early in the next Congress I will propose this further amendment, that from this time forward, for all the States alike, the Constitution of the United States shall be so changed as that representation shall be founded upon voters, and not upon population. [Applause.]

Let us look into this matter, and I especially ask the attention of any Democrats who may be present, for I want them to answer whether there is anything anti-democratic or anti-republican in this proposition. By the present three-fifths rule, supposing the slaves still remain in bondage, the following are some of the results:

Maine, by the census of 1860, had a population of 626,959, and on this population was allowed five representatives.

Alabama had a population of 526,431, just 100,000 less than Maine, but she was allowed, under the three-fifths rule, *seven* members—two more than Maine.

Vermont had a population of 314,389, upon which she was allowed *three* representatives.

South Carolina had a population of 291,385—20,000 less than Vermont—and upon that, because of the large number of her slaves, she was allowed *six* representatives—twice as many as Vermont, though Vermont has the greatest free white population.

Pennsylvania, with a population of 2,849,266, is allowed twenty-four representatives; while North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana, all combined, have an aggregate free population of 2,829,785—10,000 less than Pennsylvania alone—and yet they are allowed thirty-nine representatives—fifteen more than the same population in a free State.

But let the Constitution of the United States stand unchanged, slavery being extinguished, and what will follow? Why, that the other two-fifths will be represented: and how many of these are there in the slave States? 1,580,212 more will be represented, when you come to add the other two-fifths. This will give to the South, in addition to the great advantage she already has, fourteen more votes in Congress. Then the Southern States I have mentioned in connection with Pennsylvania will have fifty votes in Congress to her twenty-four, while having only the same voting population.

By the adoption of the amendment to the Constitution that I propose, it is true that it may become a question with the people of Ohio whether they will, in case the South enfranchises its black population in order to get a representation for them, do the same for the colored people. For myself, I am willing to meet the South on this ground. If they can afford to give the ballot to their millions, surely we can afford to give it to our thousands.

But this is a question for the future, and I shall not discuss it now. Let us amend the Constitution so as to make it to the interest of the Southern States to have their negroes vote, if they think proper. In the process of time, as the negroes become educated, and fitted for the right of suffrage, if they wish to widen their representation by giving them the right to vote, well and good. But, until they do that, they must stand where they do in regard to representation.

This is the platform upon which I propose to stand. I shall not discuss the question whether we shall force upon the rebel States negro suffrage. I will not discuss the question whether we shall allow them to vote in any of the States. I would simply so amend the Constitution in favor of freedom and in favor of equal representation, as that these people shall see it to their interest to let every intelligent lover of freedom vote, and give them the privilege of so doing if they choose.

☞ General Grant was most enthusiastically received by his loving fellow-citizens of Galena. He was so moved that actually he made a speech that contained thirty-two words!

SPEECH OF GEN. SCHENCK.

General Schenck, in his Ohio speech, takes the ground that suffrage and representation should be identical; and while he is willing that the rebel States should exclude the blacks from voting, he insists that they should not be counted in the basis of representation. This scheme would deprive the late slave States of thirty members of the House of Representatives and thirty electors for President, which they would have if the blacks as well as whites were counted; and it would do away with one of the gravest objections to the present plan of reconstruction—that it at once deprives the negroes of the most important privilege of citizenship, while it makes their mere presence in their respective localities a source of immense political power to their late masters. This power is great enough to give in some places a voter recently in arms against the Government twice, and in other places thrice, the influence in the election of President and members of the House of Representatives, which is enjoyed by a voter in Ohio and New York.

But General Schenck's scheme requires an amendment to the Constitution before it can go into effect, and it seems to us impossible that such an amendment should receive the assent of three-fourths of the States, as General Schenck would include in the enumeration all the rebel communities, whose basis of representation it would affect. The Democratic party in the free States would oppose it, and so would a large portion of the Republican party. The Republicans would be inclined to think that a State could not be said to have that "republican form of government" which the Constitution guarantees, where one-half of the free citizens were not counted in the basis of representation, any more than it could be said to have that form where one-half of the free citizens were excluded from the right of suffrage.

But the most damaging objection to the scheme, from a republican point of view, would be its effect in delivering over the black population, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of State legislation. Forming no part of the national political power of the South by their numbers, they would be relentlessly oppressed by the whites who had control of the States in which they dwelt. They would be counted out, not only of politics, but of justice and humane feeling; and their condition as nominal freemen would probably be worse than as chattel slaves. In fact, the only solution of the question is to withhold suffrage from the rebel whites until it is given to the loyal blacks, and to let the former understand that they will be under military rule until the great body of the freemen, black as well as white, are "qualified" as voters.—*Boston Transcript.*

SPEECH OF GEN. HOWARD.

Extract from an interesting speech delivered by Gen. Howard, of the Freedmen's Bureau, at a recent meeting of the Maine Freedmen's Relief Society:—

I see that it is stated that Gen. Cox, who is a candidate for Governor of Ohio, has given it as the result of his experience and observation, that the white and black races cannot permanently live together in the country. Now, I have the highest respect for Gen. Cox. I esteem him as a thorough soldier, a true patriot, a Christian gentleman. But my experience leads me to a conclusion diametrically opposite. If my individual likes and dislikes may be referred to, I know that I can employ a negro, and he and I can live together; and, if that is the case, there is no reason why another two cannot do so likewise. It shows that it is not a natural, instinctive repugnance in us against the blacks. Further, I am conscious that I could employ twenty-five negroes on a farm, and live with them, not only without hating them, but could love each and every one of them. I will use that strong term. But you say, "that is not social equality." Social equality is an absurdity. It does not exist anywhere, not here in Augusta. But, "in talking of employing negroes, you suppose the white man was superior." Perhaps in the average he is. But "would you like to see white men employed by negroes?" In answer I would say, that in Washington one of the wealthiest citizens is a colored man, and he employs white clerks, who cannot only endure the degradation, but are very glad of the employment. He transacts a very large business at home and in the West. This may seem to you an anomaly—an absurdity. It is not; it is simply uncommon. There is a prejudice, and there is a conventionalism against it, but the prejudice is not radical nor instinctive, and all conventionalisms are liable to change.

Let me tell you my method of solving the problem—how to rid ourselves of this prejudice. It is, get more of the spirit of Christ. That will substitute love for hate in our prejudices. But you will say, "this is not practical; the love of Christ is not so wide-spread as to render this available." Well, then, interest will do it. We cannot dispense with their labor. Our intercourse, which we must hold with them as our employés, will serve to dissipate our prejudices. This is my opinion, and I can back it up with facts. Maryland has become a free State by her own act. In the southern part of Maryland the slave-owners were devoted to the institution. It was of "divine origin." Slavery was the "normal condition of the black race." They hung to it as long as they could, but fortunately in the northern part of the State were brave men, who fought against it, and they finally triumphed. Immediately the former owners of slaves were determined to drive off their hands from their old homes.

They could live with them as slaves, but not as freemen. How is it now? They have agents whom they send to Richmond and elsewhere, to collect freedmen to labor for them. They must have their help, and they are engaging as many as they can get. They are willing to pay from $13 to $15 for ordinary hands; they want the women for house labor, and the prospect is that there will soon be more negroes in that section than there were formerly slaves and free people of color. They will have no trouble in living with the whites, nor the whites with them. Thus it will be everywhere.

There are many other things connected with the operations of the Bureau which I have not touched upon. I might speak of marriage, how hard we are trying to bring families together, to have marriages solemnized by ministers of the Gospel, and striving to encourage and secure a higher state of morality among this people. In the matter of binding out children, too, we discountenance all such apprenticeships, without the consent of parents. Where it has been done without their consent, we help parents to find their children and bring them back. The question of colonization is sometimes brought up. We say, colonize as many as you please, with the consent of the colonized. If they wish to go to Liberia, or elsewhere, the Government and the bureau will help them, but it will force no one. Thus it will be seen that we have different systems in operation, and we shall continue to keep them in operation, until circumstances render any one of them detrimental to our object, when it will be immediately abandoned. I think that all we have to do is to aim at absolute justice to the blacks and whites, watching the signs of the times, and keeping a steady rein. I am quite sanguine of the result. I know there are murders in Mississippi and Georgia, and disturbances elsewhere, but these are individual cases and not the rule. The work is going on comparatively well, I think; and, while we should be prepared for any contingency, we have a right to be sanguine. I believe that when God sent us forth to liberate this oppressed race, he did not mean that they should be wholly engulphed. He intended that they should be free, and free to some purpose. If we attempt to reënslave them, or to bind any heavy burdens upon them, He will chastise us again and again. The signs of the times are that God meant that we shall do right.

The Bureau has to depend upon voluntary associations for a great deal of its work for sending teachers into the field, and partially to relieve the poor and distressed. No appropriation was made by Congress for the work before us; and when money once gets into the treasury, we cannot get it out again without special appropriation. When Congress meets, I shall lay our wants before it. Until then we must depend, to some extent, on the associations already formed. Of this society (the Maine Freedmen's Relief Society) you know something. Its officers are generally personally known to you, and you are also aware that it is an auxiliary to one of the great national associations which give the Bureau material aid.

I am opposed to a permanent establishment in Washington, for the purposes for which the Bureau labors. I think our only efforts should be with a view to an end of all this. The subjects are entirely matters for State control; and when any State shows that it is able and willing to undertake the work—willing to take care of its own poor, and to deal justly by its colored people—we shall be disposed to let them. Not until then.

The Bureau over which I have been placed is a responsible post, and in its administration I need your earnest support. Yet it is a work that especially needs the Divine blessing. It is God's work. It is a benevolent department of the Government, placed at Washington, that the Christian churches and voluntary benevolent societies, and all lovers of justice, may have a friend near the head of the Government. They can rest assured that their interests will be cared for, so far as it is in the power of the Bureau to do it. The responsibilities of the administration are yours and the country's, as well as mine; and if we discharge them in the fear of God, doing what is right in His sight, and dealing justly with the people for whose benefit the Bureau was established, we may truly make our nation what we all wish it to be—"a nation whose God is the Lord."

THE PRESIDENT AND REBEL SUITORS FOR PARDON.

The scene at the White House on Tuesday, when the fire-eaters had a piece of the Executive mind, is thus described in the Washington *Republican* of that evening:

Some fifty persons were present, most of them seeking pardons. A Mr. Keitt of South Carolina, (not Lawrence M., he having been killed by a loyal bullet at Fort Wagner,) approached the President, and informed him that he desired a pardon. "What have you done?" asked Mr. Johnson. "I opposed secession until my State decided to go out of the Union, then I determined to go with it. I never joined the army. I did nothing to bring on the rebellion," was the reply. "You," rejoined the President, "are like all the rest; you did nothing. Now," he added, "my experience is, that men who didn't join the rebel army, but who acquiesced in rebellion, were the most mischievous and dangerous men we had. I cannot pardon you, sir." Mr. Keitt made several other efforts. Among other things he reminded the President that he had come all the way from South Carolina, and had been in Washington some time; that hotel living here was very high, and altogether his daily expenses were extravagantly large, and that he would like to get away as soon as he could go.

The President responded that the hardships of which he complained were the direct results of the rebellion; that he did not bring on, or contribute to bring on the rebellion; that he was not responsible for and could not extricate Mr. Keitt from the difficulties he complained of, nor hasten his pardon on account of them. The President was firm. His answer was a finality. Exit Keitt. A Mr. Birch, member of the late rebel legislature of Virginia, next approached the President, and applied for a pardon. Similar questions were put to him by the President as were asked Mr. Keitt. From the answers it appeared that Birch did nothing, only, as a member of the Virginia Legislature, in obedience to instructions, he voted that Virginia should secede from the Union of the United States. That is all he did; that was "nothing." The President refused to pardon him. Exit Birch.

Next came a rebel clergyman who asked the President to grant him a pardon. "What great sin have you committed that you come here in clerical robes to crave Executive pardon?" "I was a rebel," was the answer, "and I desire your Excellency to pardon me that I may be restored to citizenship, and be able to support and live under the Government of the United States." "You rebel preachers, responded the President, "have done the Government a great deal of harm. You have proclaimed devilish doctrines and misled the people. You forgot that it was your duty to yield to the powers that be. You must rest awhile upon the stool of repentance. I decline to grant you pardon at present." Exit reb. clergyman.

The President here remarked, addressing the entire crowd in the room, that it was a little singular that most of the non-combatants who had come here from the South for pardon assert that they did nothing, were opposed to the rebellion at the beginning, only acquiesced, and thought the rebel government ought to have surrendered earlier and stopped bloodshed; yet not one of them took advantage of the amnesty proclamation offered by Mr. Lincoln, an act which would have shown sincerity on their part, and contributed so much toward saving the enormous expenditure of life and treasure. "I will grant no more pardons for the present," was the emphatic conclusion of the President, and turning to Col. Browning, he directed him to issue the order to the Attorney-General.

☞ The *Tribune's* despatch says, General Grant remarked recently, that sufficient evidence had been adduced, during the late conspiracy trial and since, to convict Jeff. Davis of complicity in the assassination of President Lincoln, and that the fate of the conspirators settled that of Jeff.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE SOUTH.

A Washington correspondent of the Portland *Advertiser* says he has heretofore indulged the belief that "President Johnson would ultimately shake off the trammels of the Republican party," and ally himself with the Democracy; but it grieves him "to be compelled to say that the indications are that there is no prospect that this will be done soon." The following, which this disheartened correspondent relates, seems to be the cause of his diminished hopes of seeing the President restored to the Democratic fold:—

"A conversation has been detailed to me, which took place recently at the White House between President Johnson and a gentleman from one of the Western States, prominent in the Republican party, which, I have reason to believe, expresses the determination at which the President has arrived, in his treatment of the Southern people. At this interview the President said, in substance, that he was satisfied of the impolicy of making any further reduction in the army; that he doubted the genuineness of the loyalty professed by a majority of the people of the South; that treason and rebellion there, though crushed and repressed, still existed; that he would be glad to restore to the people of the South all their political rights, but that he would not do it until he was certain that they would not abuse the privilege, by election to office of rebels and traitors; that the recent elections in Virginia made it quite clear that the people of that State are not heartily loyal, but would, if the opportunity were offered to them, elect rebels and traitors to office in preference to Union men; that as soon as he is convinced of the unquestioned loyalty of any State, he will withdraw the troops therefrom, and allow it the utmost freedom of election, etc.; but until he is so convinced, he intends to keep the present military force in each Southern State, and to use the military power in order to prevent the election of rebels and traitors.

He said, furthermore, that the contingency might arise, nor was it improbable, when he should feel it to be his duty to remove the present provisional governors, and place the government of those States entirely under the control of the military officers in command of military departments there; and intimated that it was with that view that the military departments had been created. But he said that it depended entirely on the people of the South themselves whether he would do that or not; but that they must be made to realize that no person who has been prominently connected with the rebellion can be elected to office. If they can only learn through the presence of the military, why they must learn it in that way. Such is the substance of this remarkable conversation on the part of the President."

AN ELOQUENT EXTRACT.

Extract from a stirring and eloquent Address, delivered at North Adams, (Mass.) July 4th, 1865, by Hon. James T. Robinson:—

Gettysburgh was the great pivotal battle of the war. On that immortal field, the prestige of Lee and his veterans was broken as with the peals of thunder, thus ending the last invasion of the North. But the war still went on,—went on till our humanity had been tested and illustrated in our treatment of rebel prisoners—in Sanitary and Christian Commissions; until the devotion and silent heroism of the women of the Republic had been manifested; until our statesmanship, our generalship, our heroism, our unparalleled resources and power, our financial capacity, our patience, our fidelity to the rights of man, were thoroughly tested;—went on until the Negro was clothed with the uniform, and grasped the bayonet of the Republic, and had demonstrated his courage—had met his master and oppressor, face to face, with unflinching bravery on the field, and settled that question forever;—went on till Grant had achieved that amazing campaign of the Mississippi, fighting against fortifications all the way, clearing the great river to the Gulf of the rebel hordes; until the stalwart Butler, at New Orleans, had taught the Nation the only way to govern a rebel city, and that those who trample upon the flag ought to die, as Cromwell taught England that kings had a joint in their necks; until glorious Joe Hooker had stormed Lookout Mountain, five hundred feet in the air, and thundered defiance above the clouds; until the heroic Sherman had marched from Chattanooga to Atlanta, driving Johnson out of twenty-five fortified strongholds in the fastnesses of Northern Georgia, and then, with his triumphant legions, cutting that swath of fire sixty miles wide through the heart of the Confederacy, to the sea. The war went on until old Farragut, lashed to the main-mast of the Hartford, had plowed his way through the boiling surges of Mobile to the gates of the city; until the dazzling Sheridan had sent Early "whirling through Winchester," and retaken the valley of the Shenandoah; and, finally, until the grand hour of indomitable Grant and the Republic had come, and he had burst through the defences of Petersburgh, and hurled those Potomac veterans and heroes upon Lee and Richmond, crushing treason and slavery forever, amid wildest cheers and pealing thunders of cannon.

One other trial, perhaps the greatest after all, I cannot pass over. In the Summer of 1864, before Sherman had reached Atlanta, and before the victories of the Valley, the canvass of the presidential election was opened. As the canvass progressed, the danger of our situation grew more and more palpable and grave, till at last the hearts of the most sanguine were sick with fear.

A popular election in time of peace is a severe trial. It is, in fact, the constant and peculiar peril of Republics. It is the one trial which the popular experiments of the past were unable to stand. But a general election in the midst of a gigantic civil war, in which thirty States and thirty millions of people were engaged—that was a spectacle which this earth never beheld before, and probably never will again. We had half a million of men in the front, and the line of battle stretched nearly across the continent. We were spending three millions of dollars a day, and taxes were increasing, and the mountain of debt piling up higher and higher every hour. That nothing should be wanting to make the situation as trying and critical as possible, a draft was impending and actually in progress, to fill up the fearful gaps which the growing fury and crisis of the conflict were making. Besides, the election involved the removal of the Commander-in-Chief of our armies, and an entire change of the programme of the war. In fact, the issue distinctly presented by the Chicago Convention was "an immediate cessation of hostilities." The rebels on both sides of the line comprehended, at once, the peril and the opportunity.

Here was a chance to get rid of Lincoln, and elect in his place a President, who, if he did not agree with them, would at least adopt a different tone and policy. Any one was preferable to that wise, and devoted, and unconquerable man, who had thus far baffled all their plans and hopes. Here was a chance to assail the government, to attack our generals, to show that our victories were barren, our sufferings and losses useless, our taxes enormous, our drafts unconstitutional, our sons being murdered by abolition fanatics, and the war continued to enrich corrupt officials and favorites. This would demoralize the army, dishearten the generals, alarm capitalists, divide and confuse the people, produce tumult and riot, and overwhelm us all beneath the waves of defeat and anarchy. And to put the result beyond all doubt, a soldier should be nominated to dazzle and mislead the people against a plain civilian—an old trick of despots and demagogues. It was plainly a rebel flank movement. I do not mean that all who voted that ticket were disloyal. By no manner of means. Thousands of patriotic and loyal, though mistaken men, voted it; yet the purposes of the rebels and the leaders were too manifest.

Now, fellow-citizens, stop a moment, and look at that peril. It makes us shudder now to think of it. This was the supreme crucial test of the Republic. It never had been applied before on this earth. To pass through it required the greatest calmness, steadiness, intelligence, patriotism, and courage. It demanded rarer qualities than any which the trial of battle involved.

Thus we stood, through that terrible Summer and Autumn, fighting a double battle—a battle in the front with bayonets, a battle in the rear with ballots, and liable to defeat in both, and yet lost forever if we failed in either. Two battles proceeding at the same time—one a battle of bullets, and cannon balls, and shells; the other, a battle whose "weapons were thoughts, whose shells were firey inspirations of truth, and whose sword was the spirit of a just God." Tell me if that was not the crowning test of man's capacity for self-government? Tell me if there were not crowded into that trial every doubt, every cavil, every peril and exigency and strain, which all the tyrants and tories of all ages have ever suggested or imagined? If we can pass this, we can pass anything, and everything, which time and tyranny can bring in the future.

Well, the election came; you remember it well, and cannot soon forget it. How the storm of denunciation burst upon the President, the Government, the Generals, the Army! How the copperheads hissed! What tricks, what vile arts, what forgeries of soldiers' votes, living and dead! What plots at Niagara, and of the "Knights of the Golden Circle"! What appeals to fear, avarice, love of plunder and office! What a wild, hideous carnival of disloyalty and demagogueism it was! The winds of discussion were all let loose, and the tempest raged with unchecked fury. You do not forget this. And you remember, in contrast, the sublime conduct of the loyal millions—their solemn religious earnestness, their courage and self-command, their sacrifice of party ties and interests, their invincible intelligence, and their grand fidelity to the Republic. To complete the wonder and grandeur of the scene, the soldiers in the ranks voted in the pauses of the battle, holding the bayonet in one hand and the ballot in the other—thus smiting a traitor with each hand.

The battle of the ballot was won. The soldiers and the people were one. The ballot supported the bayonet, and the bayonet protected the ballot. The thunder of the Electoral Urns answered back the roar of the cannon, and mingled in one mighty diapason of joy and triumph. That shattered the Rebellion everywhere—smiting Richmond, London and Paris at the same moment, with mortal fear and dismay. That awed the world with a new revelation of popular might, and will yet change every government on the face of the earth.

After this, our Eagles flew to victory, crash following crash in rapid succession, until the final explosion at Richmond.

It is over. Aristocracy and despotism are overwhelmed. The greatest conspiracy of history against Free Institutions and the progress of mankind is annihilated. The eleventh century crumbles before the nineteenth. The Slave Ship yields to the May Flower. Plymouth conquers Jamestown. The Barbarism of the Plantation kneels to the Christian civilization of the Puritans. Once again the Cavalier flies before the Puritan, as his ancestors, two hundred years before, on the fields of Marston Moor and Nashby, showed their silken backs to Cromwell. The trial and test of two hundred years are over. The great Republic, tried by fire, saddened and chastened by the conflict, but terrible and glorious, ascends through smoke and flame to unending sway and splendor.

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1865.

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON.

We have copied from the *Traveller* a very warm commendation of the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, for the eminent service he has rendered the country, which we believe is most richly merited. To no man—not excepting the lamented President Lincoln—is the republic more indebted, on the score of unflinching loyalty, incorruptible integrity, lofty patriotism, profound sagacity, and masterly ability in the discharge of his onerous duties—than to Mr. Stanton. In some respects his responsibilities have been unequalled, and sufficient to crush any man, one would think, however physically powerful or mentally strong. It is really a marvel that he has not long since succumbed to the mighty pressure; yet, if he had done so, where could his equal have been found? Of course, he has had his full share of abuse, misrepresentation and disparagement to encounter from the envenomed lips of rebels and copperheads, and even from some making the loudest professions of loyalty to the Union; but this he has met with admirable patience and marvellous self-control, never once stopping by the way to notice any of his assailants, either for explanation or defence. Can this be paralleled in political history?

THE FREEDMEN OF CHARLESTON.

A Charleston (S. C.) correspondent of the Philadelphia *Christian Recorder* says that the colored citizens are making commendable progress in commercial, moral, social, religious and intellectual development. The idea of entering into business relations of a mercantile character is gaining prominence. Many colored persons are opening grocery stores, and doing a good business. A large dry goods store is needed there, kept by some enterprising colored merchants, who could accommodate a very large number of farmers who bring their produce to market, and exchange them for goods, and also the country people, (colored,) who bring in their gold and silver with them to purchase goods.

Old-fashioned wagons may be seen every day unloading at some store cotton or wool, owned by some "gentleman from Africa." It is amusing to see the particular attentions bestowed upon them by the "gentlemen from Caucasia." Black faces, thick lips, woolly heads, and elongated heels, all lose their repulsiveness, and the African and Caucasian stand up like men, with perfect freedom, and transact their business without the least fear of the Caucasian race being degraded by the contact.

This is the key, he says, which is to open every door of prejudice against the race. This is the panacea which will heal all the maladies of a Negrophobia type. Let the colored man simply do as any body else in business does, be self-reliant, industrious, a producer of the staples for market and merchandise, and he will have no more trouble on account of his complexion than the white man has about the color of his hair or beard. Let him demonstrate, by a practical life, his capacity for good citizenship, and there is no power which can hinder the ultimate triumph of right in his favor.

The lines of steamers plying between Charleston and New York have not, as yet, granted any respectable accommodations to colored people. Travelling North on them, they must take the steerage or none. So, if they want a comfortable trip, they must wait and find a government vessel. Such are the blessings of northern enterprise bestowed upon colored people travelling.

The writer asks—"Will not some of our friends who own ocean steamers place a line to run from this section of the country North, which will carry any decent man for his money? If they do, they will reap a rich harvest. The colored people of this country will give them all their patronage and trade. They will not ship a bale of cotton North, with one of those pro-slavery steamboat owners."

There is great need, he adds, of a secular newspaper there, under the direction of a prudent and competent colored editor—one who is liberal in his views, and comprehends the magnitude of the crisis in which we live—a paper through which might be advocated the interests of the colored citizens of the South. The man or company of men who would engage in such an enterprise at this time will confer lasting benefits upon their race, and be handsomely remunerated for the labor bestowed.

SPEECH OF GOV. MARVIN, OF FLORIDA.

Gov. Marvin, of Florida, talks as sensibly as Gov. Hamilton, of Texas. Here are extracts from a speech made by the former at Jacksonville on the 2d inst.:—

As one of the results of the great rebellion, Slavery has ceased to exist. With the fall of the Confederacy, its corner-stone crumbled to dust, and the winds have scattered it. The war which was commenced, among other reasons, for the purpose of perpetuating the black man's bondage, has, in the providence of God, brought him freedom. He can never be enslaved again. [A great shout from the colored people.] No form of slavery can ever be established again in this country. From all I can learn, I think, too, that the people of this State not only recognize this fact, but they are now generally becoming glad of it. The Constitution which you will be called upon to form will recognize the new order of things, and secure freedom to all alike.

With slavery out of the way, there will be nothing to hinder a restoration of our Constitutional relationship with the general government, and our becoming a great, prosperous, homogeneous and happy people. In the United States Senate, Florida will be the peer of New York, and in the lower house she will be fitly represented. The restoration of civil government will be through a Convention, to be called at no distant day to alter or amend the State Constitution. No time should be lost in becoming qualified to vote for members of the Convention.

COUNSEL TO WHITE AND BLACK.

But what will be your conduct when the wheels of the civil government are set in motion, and the strength of the military force is greatly reduced in the State? Will you behave better than formerly? I remember the organization called the "Regulators," and the terrorism exercised by them, and the lynching and the murders which occurred in some parts of the State. I trust when the civil authorities are once more established, that you will all yield to them and to the laws the heartiest support. The spirit of malice and revenge must be banished from among us, and every one must embark in a mission of peace and good will. If you would see your fair land happy, inviting capital and good citizenship to come among you, you must see to it that Judge Lynch and his infernal cohorts are never allowed to scourge the country again. Let every one yield supreme obedience to the laws, and prosperity will follow.

And you, Freedmen, have now exchanged masters. You must now make law your master, for it is the law which is to protect you in your freedom; no other course leads to happiness and honor. Will you stand by me, and other officers who may be in authority, and obey the laws? Obedience to the laws is freedom. My knowledge of the past makes me earnest in this matter.

We are about to enter upon a new career. Between the two races, a good understanding must be created and continued. Some persons, disappointed and vexed, will not have any faith in the colored man. They will not think of him with pleasure, now that he has become free. They have no anxiety to see him socially and morally elevated because they have not faith in his capabilities. Let me say in all plainness to such, Try him. Give him a chance. Teach and encourage him.

Your prosperity and happiness are now inseparably connected with the welfare of this people. Their elevation will add to the power and prosperity of the State. They cannot remain in a stationary condition. Their movement must be upwards, or they will become, in many cases, the veriest vagabonds, and rest like an incubus upon the country. In many respects the white man is superior to the colored man, and his responsibility is correspondingly increased. We want the colored people here. In their muscles and sinews the State has immense wealth; but that they may be made available, we must treat them kindly, give them an education, and make them an honorable part of the body politic.

And you, my colored friends, must not be idle or lazy. Labor is the law which God has imposed upon us all. I have been, and expect to be, one of the most laborious men in Florida. If you are respectful to all and industrious, you will be protected by the law in the enjoyment of all the rights of humanity. You must keep away from taverns, and try to educate your children in the fear of God. Send them to the Sunday school.

The white man, too, must school himself to this new order of things. His responsibilities and duties are of the most imperious character. He must meet them like a hero, or the worst of consequences will follow to him and family. Schools must be established all over the land. Northern teachers must be welcomed. Some of them have their peculiarities; but what of that? Let them come among us. We must also send out teachers and missionaries from among us, and interest ourselves in the promotion of intelligence, virtue, and general elevation of all the people of the State. The ministers of the gospel have a heavy responsibility in this matter. They should be constant in season and out of season in exhorting and rebuking, with all long-suffering and patience, and in teaching and instructing the ignorant and wayward in a knowledge of their moral and religious duties, and in promoting peace on earth and good will to men.

Let every man, woman and child, throughout the State, cease to murmur or complain against the dispensation of Providence, but cheerfully and hopefully accept the new order of things, as coming from Him whose ways are not as man's ways, and whose thoughts are not as man's thoughts. There is a bright prospect in the future for our beautiful State. The storm is past. The rainbow of promise is seen in the dissolving clouds. Let each man do his duty, and God will bless us.

NEGROES FOR MAINE. A New York paper says that a lot of one hundred and fifty negroes, *en route* for Maine, arrived at that port on Saturday from Richmond, to be employed as wood-choppers.

MORE LIGHT ON THE SITUATION.

Late intelligence from Beaufort, N. C., tells us that Gov. Holden requested Gen. Ruger (commanding at Raleigh) to remand three citizens, arrested by the latter for assaulting a freedman, to the county in which the offence was committed, to be tried by a civil tribunal. In reply to this request, accompanied by the intimation that the civil law had been organized in that county, Gen. Ruger replied that it seemed to him inexpedient to comply with it, for this reason among others, namely:—that it is the duty of the military to preserve order, and that, though magistrates have been appointed, *they do not take official notice of unlawful violence towards freedmen*, although such acts have been by no means unfrequent in various sections of the State. He also says that of late several cases of homicide of freedmen by whites have been brought to his knowledge, but that in no case, so far as he had learned, was any arrest made by the magistrates or civil officers, nor any attempt made to procure an investigation. From observation and information, he thinks these acts of violence are becoming more frequent; and he therefore thinks prompt trial and punishment by a military commission the only adequate remedy for the evil.

From all quarters in the South evidence like the above comes to us, showing a disposition in the class formerly dominant there to oppress the colored people, to throw all possible obstacles in the way of their self-support in freedom, and to assert over them an authority irrespective of law and justice. Knowing that slavery (the power to buy and sell men and women at auction) is gone from them, they seem now resolved to keep up the practical assertion of that superiority of race which recognizes no rights in the lower which the higher is bound to respect, and to prepare the way for such a national reconstruction as shall secure to them the continued possession of a servile class; to the effect that, though the individual white man may no longer own Sambo and Dinah, the white class may hold permanent authority over the black class.

If the Provisional Governments established by President Johnson in the rebel States have been formed tentatively, to try by experiment how much disposition there is in those regions to accept the new situation, and conform themselves in good faith to the policy of freedom for all, there is sufficient evidence already accumulated to settle the question. It is plain that, in nearly every one of those States, the rebel feeling is so preponderant that they choose whitewashed secessionists for civil officers; and the slaveholding disposition is so predominant that they are forcing back the negroes, as far as possible, into the position of *niggers*. What in the way of loyalty, what in the way of humanity, what in the way of decency even, can be hoped for from these men? They seem thoroughly joined to their idols. Is there any remedy but to keep them under military rule, and forbid their resumption of that self-government which they seem determined to abuse? Having proved themselves enormous criminals, desperate offenders against the laws, the peace, and the security of the country, let them be kept, like other criminals, under restraint and on probation.

Is it asked—How long should this restraint and this probation last? I reply, the minimum of them is fixed by two considerations. The power of the Southern whites to make laws affecting the status of the colored people should be withheld *at least* so many years as shall be required to establish that class in self-supporting industry. Their condition is at present shifting, unsettled, precarious in the utmost degree. They have neither land to cultivate nor trustworthy employers with whom to make contracts for labor. In some places the attempt is made to discourage employment of the freedmen on any terms, and to obtain white laborers, either from the West or from foreign countries. Great difficulties and troubles are before the Southern negroes. Their present unsettled state must continue for a considerable time, and the coming winter will bring privation and distress to large numbers of them. Their state is bad enough under the local Federal authorities, most of whom are not friendly to them; but it would be intolerable to have the power of deciding their present and future placed in the hands of malignant enemies like their old masters. There would then come upon them persecutions not less extreme than those of the early Christians under Tiberius. For the sake of the freedmen alone, then, until a course of years shall have given them some fixed and recognized condition under the laws of the United States, and of the individual States in which they reside, the secessionists should have no voice whatever in the making of those laws.

But another reason, no less weighty, requires this extended probation of the communities which have so lately been in arms against the United States. It is notorious that, though conquered, they are not penitent. The majority of them, alike leaders and followers, take no better ground than that, being obviously beaten, they will no longer contend in arms against the Government. They are ready to take any number or any sort of oaths that may be required to place them again in the self-governing position; but, that position once attained, it is plain that they will use it not only for the ordinary purposes of civil government, but to embarrass and counteract the Federal authorities, and to regain so much of their lost sovereignty over the blacks as circumstances will permit. These things being so, it would seem the dictate of common prudence (to speak of no higher considerations) to delay the restoration to power to hands predetermined to abuse it; and to retain the military (or other provisional) government of those States which are obviously still rebellious in spirit, until a few years, at least, have passed in the attempt to secure better conditions for permanent reconstruction.—C. K. W.

OPPRESSED NEEDLEWOMEN.

I would advise those interested in humanitarian topics to read "Needle and Garden," a serial in the *Atlantic Monthly*. It reveals a sad state of things, and shows vividly how the unfortunate seamstresses of the large cities are ground beneath the iron heel of their employers.

As yet, I cannot see that the writer has much to say in the way of suggesting a general remedy. One thing is, however, no less clear than strange. She is anxious to have it understood that she is NOT a "Woman's Rights" advocate; though every page of her narrative shows unanswerably how fearfully a due recognition of "Woman's Rights" is needed! Does any one suppose that if the thousands of intelligent working women to be found in the large cities of the United States had the power of voting, they could be thus trampled on? No, indeed. It is not pretended that the extension of the franchise would be a panacea, but it would be a step in the right direction. The vote is to the citizen what the pistol is to the traveller, means of defence if bravely used, not an infallible protection against spoliation.

There is one great difference between the work of the early Abolitionists and that now looming up before the Woman's Rights agitators. The black slave, as a general thing, was anxious to be free; the white one is not. He realized that he was in bondage, and desired to escape from it; she hugs her chains, and refuses to cast them off. The first, and perhaps the greatest labor will be to awaken her to a sense of her degradation. It is a thankless task, benefiting people against their will; so that those embarking in this second crusade against slavery must understand that their reward is not now.

EDWARD M. RICHARDS.

Mound City, Kansas, August, 1865.

☞ The Baltimore *American* says that the Denton *Union*, one of the stanchest Administration journals in Maryland, displays the motto, in its editorial columns, "Opposition to Negro Suffrage in Maryland." Contemptible! Such unjust proscription is sure to make trouble in the end.

ORGANIZATION OF A NATIONAL FREEDMEN'S ASSOCIATION. At a meeting held in New York on Friday, in which the principal Freedmen's Associations of the country, East and West, were represented by prominent gentlemen from Boston, New York Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati and Chicago, a National Association was organized under the title of "The American Freedmen's Aid Commission."

Bishop Simpson was chosen President; Wm. Lloyd Garrison and John V. Farwell, Vice Presidents; Fred. Law Olmstead, General Secretary; Jacob R. Shiperd, Associate Secretary, and George C. Ward, Treasurer; which officers, with J. Miller McKim and J. M. Walden, Corresponding Secretaries of the Eastern and Western Departments, constitute a Board of Managers.

The Commission comprises a number of prominent and active friends of the Freedmen's cause sufficiently large to represent this work of benevolence in every part of the country, and make it really national in its character.

Its object is to promote the elevation of the freedmen, and to coöperate to this end with the Freedmen's Bureau.

☞ THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, for September, is received. The present number is unusually excellent. It opens with the beginning of a new serial story, by Trowbridge, entitled "Coupon Bonds," which promises well. Rev. D. A. Wasson contributes an acute criticism on "Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship." The "Needle and Garden" and "Dr. Johns" are continued, and Mrs. Stowe, in the last of her "Chimney Corner" series, runs down the domestic fox "exactingness." A lively essay by Gail Hamilton, "A Visit to the Edgeworths," and a review of "Our Militia System," are among the other noteworthy papers.

NEW WORK. Bela Marsh, 14 Bromfield street, has just published a new work of 120 pages, entitled "THE LIVING PRESENT AND THE DEAD PAST; or, God made manifest and useful in living Men and Women, as he was in Jesus." By Henry C. Wright, author of "The Empire of the Mother," "The Unwelcome Child," "A Kiss for a Blow," "The Self-Abnegationist," "Marriage and Parentage." Its special object is to inculcate the doctrine, that "Reverence for Human Beings is the only safeguard of Human Rights."

COLORED MISSIONARIES. A delegation of Colored Missionaries called on the President on Saturday, and were kindly received. The Rev. Mr. Grimes headed the delegation, and made a speech, desiring the assurance of the President's protection while prosecuting their labors in the South. The President, in his reply, gave them the desired assurance, and the delegation departed, satisfied with the result of their interview.

LETTER FROM M. TOURGUENEFF. The special attention of our readers is directed to the highly interesting letter from this philanthropic and distinguished Russian nobleman, which may be found on our first page, copied from *The Nation*. Exiled for his noble efforts to abolish serfdom in Russia, he has lived to see that beneficent act consummated on a magnificent scale, and every thing working well, even beyond his strongest hopes and expectations.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XL.

NEW YORK, August 24, 1865.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

It was justly remarked, quite recently, by an English writer, who had been reading in an American journal of the dullness of the previous week, that he did not know what people could pretend to be lively, if we of this country had leisure to be ennuied. With the greatest social and political problems remaining to be solved—questions of debt, of taxation, of tariff—questions of suffrage, State and national relations, constitutional and territorial reconstruction—questions of color and race—the Monroe Doctrine, settlements with foreign powers—immigration, colonization, and annexation;—with this and more such business on our hands, not remotely but now, we must be diligent fellows indeed to own a vacant mind or an idle moment. True, a large allowance must be made for the popular sense of power in a democracy—the consciousness of strength which borrows no trouble from never so clouded and involved a future. Yet, after all, a peace diet is to that of war as milk to spices, and a palate treated for four years to the latter may rejoice at the change, but must inevitably in the beginning pronounce the new food flat and tasteless. The daily press is an index of this transition; and where before sieges, marches, land and naval engagements, victories, defeats and surrenders were blazoned in capitals, the same type now records for eyes yet hungry for a sensation the blossoming out of crime that follows naturally an era when human life, no matter how lofty the controversy, has been held cheap, while the moral forces of the community have given way to violence, no matter how clothed with righteous authority. Hence we are feasted with "saturnalia," and "carnivals," and "epidemics" of villany, of one sort and another; every railroad accident is a "butchery," a "massacre," and at the very least a "horror." And so, perhaps not undivinely, we are carried back from a vast, all-absorbing excitement to the tameness of our old-time prosperity, without too great a shock of suddenness, though still yearning somewhat after our recent restlessness. There is another excuse to be offered for the to foreign eyes apparent apathy which is shown in the perilous crisis of our affairs. We have learned, under a protracted military régime, the exact extent of our ability to control our war magistrates or to alter accomplished facts. The peace men shivered their lances against a revolution which meant abolition, an army which meant subjugation of rebels, a President who was quite in harmony with both Up to January, 1863, their efforts to preserve slavery were neither vain nor hopeless; when that date had passed, Don Quixote was wiser in charging a windmill than they in opposing emancipation. Up to April, 1865, some hope of a false peace may have justified their plottings for this end; but after Lee's surrender, they were forced to accept the cessation of hostilities which they deprecated, as not arising from compromise but from conquest and defeat. In the one case, accordingly, they conspired to embarrass the emancipation which they could not stave off, and in the other, to disturb the peace which was not the peace of their seeking. So, I take it, the loyal party of the North have acted in regard to President Johnson and his policy. They agreed, willingly enough, that the war power did not cease with the last pistol-shot or the last battle-field of the rebellion. They yielded to the President a liberal construction of his functions as commander-in-chief. From motives of genuine delicacy they permitted him for some time, without protest, to develop rapidly his digested plan of reconstruction. When they began to lose heart, they opened their lips to caution, admonish, and finally to denounce him. It was too late. Before this month came in, the schedule was full—a parcel of governors had a parcel of States, on the homœopathic principle of *similia similibus curantur*, and there was an end to caution, admonition and denunciation. Men looked at once to the next resort, and saw it looming up in December—a long way off, indeed, but certain to arrive, and likely to bring relief; and when we must wait, what is the use of being impatient? Besides, the President's scheme will approve or condemn itself before Congress meets, and the good cause will be stronger in either contingency. Therefore it is that the experiment goes on without discovering an interest commensurate with its magnitude, or with the destiny which hangs upon its success. Therefore the mills of God, which the stream of time turns slowly, are neglected that we may watch our private grists. We are tired of processes and demand events, and a defalcation on Wall street of three or four millions excludes all thought of the defalcations in eleven Southern States, for which this generation and others yet to be must answer with much treasure and most reluctant sacrifices.

No doubt, with our improved machinery, a very good State may be formed in something less than the thousand years required by the poet. But formation and reformation are too quite different things, and he must be a brisk as well as clever workman, who would build up, as the President has undertaken to do, in seven months, a republican sisterhood of States out of the wreck of a rotten league of despots and aristocrats. Nevertheless, he manifested no diffidence and courted no delay. His appointees have been as nimble as himself—perhaps none more so than our friend, the honorable Governor of South Carolina, who seems, if we may take him at his word, to have surprised Mr. Johnson himself by the rapidity with which he had sketched out his entire course for himself, almost as soon as he had set foot in Washington. The word to which I refer is his second speech at Greenville, for which unhappily I have to-day neither rhyme nor reason. The explanation given, before he left the North, of his first discourse to his towns-people, was lame enough; his defence to them is absolutely astounding. He was merely talking, he says, to his neighbors; what the devil (*sic*) induced anybody else to listen? and what right had the eavesdropping nation to find fault with him for a strictly private and confidential chat? The answer to such questions ought to emanate from the President, and to consist of a prompt dismissal from the office the South Carolinian has twice shown his incapacity to fill. The President's forbearance will not be imitated, I am sure, by the body which meets at the Capitol; and I should not wonder, if, to pervert Thomas Moore a little,

> "One morn a *Perry* at the gate
> Of *Congress* stood disconsolate,
> * * * * * *
> And wept to think his recreant race
> Should o'er have lost that glorious place."

I think we may put to the credit of Judge Marvin, of Florida, the fact that he is the first and only Provisional Governor who has had the courage to mention negro suffrage in his address to the people, and at the same time not only to admit that it is an open question, but to suggest to the Convention which is to meet that it is a question which they will very properly discuss in all seriousness.

Since I began by borrowing a criticism from abroad, let me end by translating a story from the same quarter. The New York correspondent of the *Independance Belge*, writing the day after Barnum's Museum had been consumed, avers:

"The following anecdote is told this evening. Yesterday, Mr. Bennett, the venerable editor of the *Herald*, was sitting in his office before an open window, conversing with a friend on the probability of the destruction of his establishment by the conflagration which was advancing with giant strides beside it. 'It is true,' said the old man, 'I have always been lucky about fires, but they say the devil is always on the watch, and—' 'Good heavens!' exclaimed his terrified friend, looking round. Mr. Bennett also turned quickly, and beheld behind his arm-chair the devil in person, or at least some one who bore a very strong resemblance to him. The editor of the *Herald*, who is politeness itself (in his office), was preparing to inquire of his majesty how he could serve him, when he perceived that it was an orang-outang which, along with several other apes, had escaped from the Museum, and taken refuge in the adjacent buildings."

M. DU PAYS.

FOURTH OF JULY AT BUENOS AYRES.

The Buenos Ayres *Standard* of July 6th says that the 4th of July, 1865, will long be remembered by both Americans and Argentinee. It may be said to have been the first 4th of July that was ever properly kept up in the city of Buenos Ayres. The Provincial Government took the initiative by declaring it holiday; private parties followed the example by keeping open house on that day; and the Americans themselves, determined that the day should pass off with the greatest *eclat*, gave one of the most magnificent banquets ever given in that city, at the Hotel de Provence. The hotel was illuminated with Chinese lamps, and had flags hanging from every window.

At 6 o'clock, P. M., the waiting-room was crowded, and at half-past six the Vice-President of the Republic, the Governor of the Province, with their Ministers, having arrived, the folding doors of the banqueting-hall were thrown open, and the company took their seats at the festive board. The taste and elegance with which the table was laid out merited especial praise. The room was hung round with American and Argentine banners. At either end of the room were portraits of Washington and General Mitre, encircled with gigantic wreaths, around which were the names of the different States of the Union and Provinces of the Republic. On the table the genius of the confectioner was called into play, in emblematic figures of Plenty, &c., with small American and Argentine flags surmounting the figures.

Among those who made speeches on the occasion were Hon. Mr. Kirk, American Minister; Vice-President Paz, Gov. Saavedra, Capt. Livingston, Dr. Rawson, Prime Minister, Dr. Elizalde, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Hinton Rowan Helper.

The eleventh toast—"Our erring Southern Brethren, who have fought bravely, worthy of a better cause! May their returning sense of justice bring with it a willing obedience to the Constitution of the United States." Drank with cheers, and "Old Acquaintance" sung by all present.

Mr. Helper, U. S. Consul, rose and said:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—It has often been asserted—with truth, I think—that there are men who, if they assume an erect posture in the presence of a public assembly, have no command of themselves to say three words. Do you suppose that you have never seen a man of that sort? Then you deceive yourselves, for he now stands before you. [Laughter.] Nevertheless, if it be in harmony with the present plan of the proceedings of the evening, permit me to make a brief statement, and upon that a single inquiry. My friend, the author of the "Impending Crisis of the South," who is here with us, but who accepts as generally correct, and particularly so with reference to himself, the adage that *authors never make speeches*, has placed in my hands, on a paper now in my pocket, an expression of opinion in regard to the last toast; an opinion, however, exclusively his own, and not, in any manner, reflecting or expressing the opinion of others, except so far, if at all, as they may be pleased to endorse what he has written; and I would thank you to inform me whether it would be proper on my part to occupy eight or ten minutes of your time, by reading the paper in question.

"Certainly," "certainly," "most certainly," having resounded from every part of the hall, Mr. Helper read, in a clear and full voice as follows:

Gentlemen, the sentiment of the toast just given is highly honorable both to the head and the heart of the gentleman who proposed it. While, as I understand it, that sentiment very fully and properly acknowledges the strength and integrity of the Union, it, at the same time, whispers to our misled and overpowered countrymen of the South assurances of manly kindness and conciliation. This is as it ought to be; and so, I am sure, it will be. (Cheers.)

Considering the glorious victories which have every where crowned our arms, the complete suppression of the rebellion, and the perfect vindication of the great principles upon which our Government was founded, fitly may we continue the practice of moderation; well may we afford to be generous to a fallen foe; safely and appropriately may we temper mercy with justice. (Applause.)

Only a few days since, an English gentleman, more liberal and kindly-natured than some of the other subjects of her Britannic Majesty, (laughter,) remarked in my presence—and I was pleased to hear the words fall from his lips—that, in his opinion, the unlooked-for leniency with which the United States had treated General Lee and his deluded comrades would secure a speedy and happy re-adjustment of American affairs, both at home and abroad. This opinion of the Englishman was rightly conceived, and opportunely expressed; but, at the same time, let it be remembered that an honorable and lasting peace, with its long train of gladdening concomitants, may be secured, and in all probability will be secured, by the operation of other measures and other causes in proper conjunction with the one assigned.

Meanwhile, let us not be cheated of any of the festive privileges and rejoicings, and free interchange of opinions, so eminently due to us on this occasion.

How often have the friends of our Government, especially those resident in foreign countries, been shocked and insulted by the misrepresentations of disunionists, chiefly disloyal Americans and other advocates of slavery, who, in the face of facts, have falsely asserted that the South was a unit for secession! The number of times this wicked thing has been done can only be known by criteria. In Buenos Ayres it has been done frequently. Our enemies made persistent efforts to weaken our cause by creating wrong impressions abroad. They always said that the war was popular at the South, and that it had been deliberately inaugurated by the masses of the Southern people. We know perfectly well, and always knew, that the war was not popular at the South, but that it was the unmixed measure of a small and most mischievous minority of the people—a mere handful of factious demagogues, who had no higher object in view than the extension and perpetuation of negro slavery. Of the truth of this we have conclusive proof in the great number of Southern men who, under the most oppressive and cruel proscription, and often at the sacrifice of life itself, have firmly adhered to the flag of their fathers. (Cheers.)

Bear with me two minutes, while I recount the honored names of a few devoted sons of the South—men of Southern birth—who have fought and bled, and some of whom have nobly died for their country, during the four years last past. I will here mention the names only of such as have been general officers in the army.

Virginia has given us twelve generals, (applause,) whose surnames are as follows:—

Thomas, Prentiss, Denver, Terrell, Newton, Ammen, Cooke, Davidson, Hays, Reno, Stevenson, Graham.

Maryland, "My Maryland," has given us ten generals, (laughter and applause,) namely:—

Ord, Emory, Sykes, Cooper, French, Judah, Benton, Kenley, Lanman, Vandever.

Delaware has given us three generals, (applause,) namely:—

Lockwood, Torbet, Thomas.

Kentucky—the birth-place of President Lincoln, the martyred and immortal patriot—stands in a great measure redeemed in the number and efficiency of the soldiers whom she has sent into the field for the defence of the Union. She has given us twenty-eight generals, (great applause,) whose names are:—

Canby, Boyle, Burbridge, Anderson, Crittenden, Fry, Rosseau, McClernand, Shackelford, Reynolds, McMillan, Gorman, Nelson, Clay, Johnson, Hobson, Clay-Smith, Jackson, Harrow, Morris, Wood, Ogleby, Palmer, Ward, Blair, Pope, and the two Bufords.

Tennessee has given us five generals, (applause,) namely:—

Carter, Harney, Campbell, Abercrombie, Spears.

The District of Columbia has given us five generals, (applause,) namely:—

Hunter, Orme, Pleasanton, Brannan, Getty.

Alabama has given us three generals, (applause,)—Two Birneys, and one Crittenden.

North Carolina has given us two generals, (applause,)—

Meredith and Johnson.

South Carolina has also given us two generals, (great applause,)—

Hurlbut and Fremont.

Missouri has given us René; Louisiana, West; and Georgia, Meigs, (constant applause.)

Here we have a list of seventy-three Southern generals of land forces, many of whom have already with their valor and blood, intermingled with the valor and blood of their compatriots from other sections of the country, added strength and indissolubility to the Union. (Cheers.)

If we turn to the Navy, we shall find from the South four names at least, which will be famous in history so long as floating batteries or men-of-war shall be found upon the water. You know to whom I allude: Farragut, of Tennessee (great applause); Porter, of Louisiana (applause); Goldsborough, of the District of Columbia (applause); and Winslow, of North Carolina, that brave and dauntless Old Coon who captured the pirate Alabama. (Deafening applause, and cries of "Hurrah for the brave Old Coon!")

Of men of Northern birth, the meanest and most infamous of all who have served in the rebel army, I am happy to be able to name but nine; but am truly sorry, at the same time, that even one man, whether from the North or from the South, should ever have been found disgracing himself and his country by service so ignoble and atrocious. The names of the nine Northern renegades to whom I refer are:

Whiting, Ruggles, and Blanchard, of Massachusetts (groans); Cooper, of New York (groans); Leadbeater, of Connecticut (groans); French, of New Jersey (groans); and Ripley, of Ohio, (groans, and immediately afterwards, hilarious joking of the American Minister Resident, Mr. Kirk, who hails from the State of Ohio.)

And of these contemptible fellows, and their chief accomplices in the crimes of treason, what shall be said? As for me, I hesitate not to say that, in my humble opinion, their memory ought either to be consigned to oblivion, or forever held in utter abhorrence.

Not the least among the seventy-odd names of distinguished army and navy commanders from the South who have heroically proved their devotion to the Union in the late terrible conflict—names which, in great measure, constitute the modern roll of Southern honor—is that of Andrew Johnson, formerly of North Carolina, (great applause,) now President of the United States, who is, perhaps, in many particulars, more like Andrew Jackson than any other man in America. They were both born in North Carolina, of which State President Polk was also a native. (Loud applause, and cries of "Yes, and thar's whar yu cum frum too.") Both—all three, in fact—emigrated to Tennessee, and, while residing there, were elected to the Presidency. The full name of each is composed of thirteen letters, the number being suggestive of the original thirteen States which, more than three-quarters of a century since, achieved their independence of Great Britain. (Cheers.) Each has, and very properly, (as showing that their parents were persons of sense,) but one prenomen, (laughter, and cries of "good!") and that is Andrew. The cognomen of each is a word of two syllables, and the terminating syllable of each is *son*. The prefix of the one surname is Jack, while that of the other is John. (Laughter.) Now Jack and John, as is well known, signify one and the same thing. It follows, therefore, that, in Andrew Johnson, we have a man who is neither more nor less than Andrew Jackson—the same tough "Old Hickory," the able and incorruptible statesman, for whom, it is said, the patriotic Dutchmen of Pennsylvania have been steadily voting, at every presidential election, during the last forty years! (Uproarious laughter and applause, and bravos for the Dutchmen of Pennsylvania!)

But the parallel does not end here. Both received appointments as Generals of militia. Both becoming President, each served his adopted State, first as a representative in Congress, and afterward as a Senator of the United States. Both were called to the Presidency in times of great national peril; both were Southern men, and it became the duty of both to deal stringently, and both did deal stringently, with the disaffection and treason of their slaveholding neighbors. One annulled nullification; and the other suppressed a gigantic rebellion.

As Mr. Helper resumed his seat, he was complimented with three thundering cheers for the Old North State and himself.

RETURN OF THE 32D REGIMENT COLORED TROOPS.

NEW YORK, August 26, 1865.

DEAR GARRISON—About noon to-day, while busy writing at my desk, I heard an unusual roll of drums. On going to the front window, I enjoyed my first sight of a considerable body of returned colored troops. They were five companies of the U. S. 32nd Regiment, Colonel Beard, just arrived by sea from the South, and now on their way to the transport at pier No. 1, North River, via Amboy for Philadelphia, where they enlisted, there to be mustered out. "That's equal to the 7th Regiment," said some one at my elbow. I never saw finer marching. The drum-major, Huber, as his name was pronounced, was a fine black, in full uniform, with large shining silvery epaulettes. He led the men splendidly—that is none too much to say. First were six men with fifes, then three files six abreast of drummers, all black. The shrill and clear whistle of the former, and the perfect time-stroke and roll of the latter, made the blood creep and thrill. The column moved slowly in regular martial step, all swaying together in that wave of the body which answers to the foot, and gives to a moving mass of men the appearance of one compact body. I drank in the imposing and affecting spectacle until the column passed, with hearty greetings and clappings from window and door-step on both sides of the street. It is a spontaneous tribute to our better nature that distinguishes the colored troops, whenever they march in this city, by a peculiar manifestation of feeling, not expressible in words. There is a fine tenderness about it. Every man's heart is in his throat. What is this? Is it the mysterious charm of a new sentiment of nationality that puts all distinctions under foot, giving us the first experience of the supreme joy of one united and common brotherhood?

I was not satisfied with my momentary sight of this spectacle, and, laying aside business, was soon walking by the side of these brave men, enjoying the thrill of their music. I thought of you, and wished, my dear friend, that you could hear those six fifes and those eighteen drums. They were as near in perfect accord as any that I have ever heard. The eighteen drum-sticks fell with one stroke, the eighteen rolls came out in one roll, and the six fifes in one loud clear whistle. I felt the history of the future in that music and that march. Here is discipline—the first uses of discipline in organizing a branch of the human family counting over eighty millions, and introducing them upon the grand stage of cultivated freedom. Ethiopia is about spreading her wings. She is to be joined to the cause of the people against masters, whether on plantations in America, or in Royal and Imperial cabinets in Europe. Depend on it, if the trump of war shall again be heard in our land, the black man will be among the first to spring to his bayonet for "God and Liberty."

In all the regiments of white troops that I have seen, there have been stragglers, and men half or wholly intoxicated; but here, not a man straggled from his place, not a foot was out of march, and *not one was intoxicated*. I stationed myself on the plank of the transport, saw every man, and exchanged greetings with many. The wives and daughters of some of them were on hand, and the scene was one of general happiness. X.

ABOLITIONISTS IN THE WAR.

A foolish remark appeared in the New York *Times*, the other day, as follows:

"One looks almost in vain upon the list of officers, and upon the muster rolls of the rank and file, for any of the names that used to figure in the abolition gatherings. This is an indisputable fact."

The absurdity of this remark exposed that journal to a day's laughter from sensible people, and elicited the following rejoinder from a correspondent who knows whereof he affirms:

"A few moments' reflection enables me to recall the following names of prominent abolitionists who have had either sons, grandsons, or sons-in-law, actively engaged in the military service of the country during the war. They have filled all ranks, from private to major-general. Most of them have been in fighting positions, or others of equal exposure, and I do not know that any of them have ever flinched from duty or danger. I name

Arthur Tappan,	Jacob Heaton,
Lewis Tappan,	Samuel May, Jr.,
Wm. Lloyd Garrison,	Dr. H. I. Bowditch,
James G. Birney,	James Forten,
William Jay,	Robert Purvis, col'd,
Gerrit Smith,	Fred. Douglass,
Henry Ward Beecher,	Joseph P. Thompson,
Joshua Leavitt,	S. S. Jocelyn,
Salmon P. Chase,	Rev. Dr. Ide,
Dr. Abraham L. Cox,	Charles G. Finney,
Joseph W. Alden,	W. H. Burleigh,
Charles Jewett,	Charles Follen,
John Rankin, of Ohio,	Henry Wilson,
Samuel Fessenden,	Joshua R. Giddings,
Francis G. Shaw,	William Slade.
Leonard Brown,	

"This list might be extended to any length, but it is not necessary for the present purpose."—*Independent.*

ORIGINAL ABOLITIONISTS. It has been charged upon the "original abolitionists" that they contributed very few fighting men to the war. The New York *Times* partially admits the charge, and says: "One looks almost in vain upon the list of officers, and upon the muster rolls of the rank and file, for any of the names that used to figure in the abolition gatherings." Now if men would only stop to reflect for a moment, they would see that this is a groundless charge. The "abolition gatherings" spoken of, and which so excited the country, and very wholesomely too, took place some thirty years ago or more. The men who figured in them and left their names on the "lists" were, for the most part, from thirty-five to seventy years of age at that time, and such of them as lived to see this war must have been from seventy-five to one hundred years of age. Was it the duty of the octogenarian Arthur Tappan, or the now venerable William Lloyd Garrison and Gerrit Smith, to get up regiments and lead them to battle, or to shoulder their muskets? We know that the families of most of these men were well represented in the army; and doubtless had their weight of years been less, "the names that used to figure in the abolition gatherings" would have figured largely in the military "gatherings" of a later day.—*Pittsburg Gazette.*

WHITE COLONIZATION.

A meeting of leading planters was recently held in the parish of Lafourche, to consult on the measures to be adopted to extort labor from the colored men;—in other words, to restore slavery. It appears that the laboring masses are no longer willing to work for the former wealthy planters, who used to treat the poor men as brutes, and who got up the infamous war of secession, and who are still refusing to recognize and admit their utter defeat, and the progressive march of liberty and humanity. Colored men now have the right of working for whom they please; and if they choose rather to set up on their own account, or to prefer as employers Union men and friends of universal suffrage, they simply exercise a sound judgment and an established right. For doing this, they are constantly charged by their former brutal owners with indolence, vagrancy, etc. But, so long as they act the part of good, honest, industrious and loyal men, they need not care what their former owners say of them.

But, reverting to the meeting of planters at Lafourche, these gentlemen,—many of them, perhaps, still red with the blood of Union men,—have come to the conclusion, as we are informed, "after repeated efforts to sustain the planting interests, that the cultivation of the sugar-cane must be abandoned for lack of laborers; that there are ninety-nine chances to one against the success of the cotton culture; and a general cultivation of corn, as a last resource, would overstock the market, and ruin the planters."

We had thought the rebellion had already ruined the planter. He can't stand it long with heavy mortgages resting on his plantation, his laborers emancipated, his want of money to secure their services, and his rebel sympathies to drive them from him. The lessons of experience are often bitter as well as useful.

These planters, we are told, "*are discussing emigration to Brazil.*" Has it come to this? Those who, but a few years ago, were lords over the poor negroes, and by war tried to become the lords of their Northern fellow-citizens also, now talk of colonizing elsewhere! O, what a fall is here!—*New Orleans Tribune.*

CONVENTION OF BLACKS IN TENNESSEE.

The following are the important resolutions adopted by the convention of colored men assembled, the other day, at Nashville, Tennessee, and remarkable for being the first real negro convention held in the Southern States:

Whereas, In the merciful providence of God, the door of bondage has been thrown open, and the colored people of the United States are free; and

Whereas, We have not yet attained to all the privileges of freedom, but we believe that we have, in common with all mankind, a right to all those inalienable rights, viz: "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" therefore,

Resolved, That we will make use of all the necessary means, such as the erection of school-houses and meeting-houses, and the employing of proper persons qualified to fill them, that we may secure to ourselves and the race all the blessings that God has connected with civil and religious liberty.

The following resolutions were also adopted:

Resolved, That we will endeavor, by all lawful means in our power, to remove from among us all and every species of vice which tends to demoralize and destroy our much afflicted people.

Resolved, further, That we will endeavor, by our industry, our civil and political economy, so to secure the confidence of the Government and the citizens of the Republic that they will esteem it their highest privilege to bequeath to us and our posterity all the privileges that are secured by the Constitution as the rights of the people.

Mr. Roper offered a resolution for the Committee on Agriculture to inquire and report the amount of land under cultivation by colored men in Tennessee.

The following resolutions were read and adopted:

Whereas, It is generally considered among the whites at the South, and by many at the North, that we are consumers, and not producers; therefore be it

Resolved, By the Convention, that there be a committee of five appointed on agriculture, whose duty it shall be to report the amount of lands under cultivation, this year, by colored men, amount of produce raised, &c.

THE FREEDMEN OF MARYLAND.

Second Lieutenant W. Clark, of the Freedmen's Bureau, who was sent to investigate the condition of the freedmen in the lower counties of Maryland, their treatment, &c., has reported the result of his investigations to the main bureau here. He says: "Many complaints are made by the majority of planters of indolence and impudence on the part of the negro; of scarcity of labor; of increase of crime; of the pernicious influence of the Freedmen's Bureau, in inciting a spirit of insubordination, and of the attempt of military authority to place in abeyance their State laws regarding negroes. They also complain of the disposition of the Government to insist on their supporting the infirm and aged of their former slaves, and threaten resistance to such action.

The freedmen complain of the neglect and refusal of their employers to pay them; of ill treatment; of the opposition of a reunion of families separated by slavery; of the resort to old methods of punishment; of the impossibility of securing protection to either person or property by appeal to civil authority; of suffering caused by planters turning away their aged and infirm servants to die of want and exposure, or be taken care of by the Government; of the refusal of many planters to hire those who have relations in the service of the United States." Lieut. Clark says: "It is a noticeable fact that the statements made by the freedmen coincide fully with those of the few loyal white men whom I met with during this journey, though it is not surprising when we consider that the treatment of loyal men in this section has been similar to that received by the freedmen. Several affidavits of loyal white men are included in the report, showing that men who have been faithful to the Government cannot secure justice before the civil courts."

Numerous instances of cruelty practised by the disloyal planters upon their late slaves are also cited to prove that the negro in lower Maryland is more inhumanly treated now than he was before the abolition of slavery. The families of slaves enlisting in the army, made free by President Lincoln's proclamation, have to endure peculiar hardships from the prejudice existing among the people against those who have been in the army, or who have husbands, fathers or brothers there. Many old and infirm people have been driven away by their former masters, not being even awarded the care and protection given by a humane master to a faithful horse. These have been told to go and let the Government take care of them. As soon as emancipation took place, the planters generally went before the Orphan's Court, and had the colored children, their former slaves, bound to them, thus perpetuating the separation of families.

They have been apprenticed under a section of the old code, which provides that children born in apprenticeship shall also be bound. Notwithstanding that this law has been pronounced unconstitutional by one judicial tribunal of Maryland, the decision is little regarded in this section of the State, and every obstacle is thrown in the way of the parents for recovering their children by those who have them in possession, and by the local authorities.

In conclusion Lieut. Clark says: "The sentiment of disloyalty to the Government is wide-spread. I cannot better show the truth of this than by the following: In one entire district in Prince George county, 130 out of 180 voters are disfranchised. Among them is a physician who, when the colored troops were being organized at Benedict, in that county, told his friends that he was going to be appointed Surgeon there, and would poison the niggers."

MARRIAGES AMONG THE FREEDMEN.

General Rufus Saxton has undertaken to establish regulations in relation to marriages among the late slaves. The order was issued at Beaufort, S. C., on the 11th of August. The fourth section determines the status of conjugal partners, etc., as follows:

"First—The marriage of all parties living together as husband and wife at the time of obtaining their freedom, or solemnized since obtaining it, will be acknowledged as legal and binding.

Second—All parties whose marriage was only a mutual agreement between themselves, with no public form or ceremony, are required to have their marriage confirmed by a minister, and obtain a certificate of the same.

Third—No parties having agreed to enter the marriage relation will be allowed to live together as husband and wife until their marriage has been legally solemnized.

Fourth—All parties claiming to have been married, but separated by slavery, and having no certificate of their marriage, must obtain from society or church a permit for their re-union, before they will be allowed to live together as husband and wife."

FORMER WIVES.

The same section also defines the relations of husbands to the wives had by them while in the state of slavery:

"Fifth—A wife when restored by freedom to her husband, if he be living with no other wife, shall be received by him as his lawful wife, except for moral causes.

Sixth—If a man living without a wife find two wives restored to him by freedom, the one having children by him and the other not, he shall take the mother of his children as his lawful wife, unless he show cause as provided in section iii. rule 4, first.

Seventh—If a man living without a wife shall refuse to renew the marriage relation with a former wife restored by freedom, who may desire such renewal, there being no moral or legal objection to the same proven by him, he shall be held responsible for the support of such wife, and also of all his children by her, so long as they remain minors.

Eighth—No man, failing for want of cause proven to obtain a release from renewing his marriage relations with a former wife, will be allowed to marry another woman so long as such wife may live, or until for just cause she shall have married another.

Ninth—Every man marrying a woman having children shall be responsible for their protection and support so long as they remain minors.

Tenth—A husband living with a wife, having no children by her, may be permitted to take a previous wife, provided:

1st, He have children by such wife who are still minors.

2d, That such wife have no other husband known to be living.

3rd, That his present wife assent to such change of their marriage relations.

"Eleventh—If a former wife utterly refuse, upon application made by the husband, to renew her former marriage relation with him, he may notify some society or church of the fact of such refusal, and ask for a release from said wife. If after due notice given by such society or church to the wife refusing, she fail to show any moral or legal objection as provided for in these regulations to the renewal of her former marriage relations with him, then the society or church acting in the case shall grant to the man a release from all his obligations to her as a husband, and for the support of all his children by her."

The concluding remarks of the General declare that the "sacred institution of marriage lies at the very foundation of all civil society. It should be carefully guarded by all the agents of this Bureau. It is hoped that these rules many do something to correct a monster evil, which meets us at the very threshold of our work."

FREEDMEN OF HAMPTON. The old and once aristocratic precinct of Hampton, Va., affords peculiar attractions to the freedmen. On certain fine farms, now confiscated to the United States, 4500 of these people have settled. They are divided into 800 families, each in a tenement built by themselves. They own property estimated at $51,000, have built five churches, pay their pastors $1050 per annum; 587 of them can read and write, and there are 915 church members. They also have a store in Hampton managed by an association of their own, filled with goods costing $75,000, which does a brisk and paying business. Having brought things to this prosperous condition, and cultivated the farms on which they labor in a mode much superior to that under the old system, it is but natural that they should desire to reap the benefits of their industry. The old owners, however, are now venturing back, and seeking to gain possession of their confiscated lands. The negroes, through their counsel, have offered liberal sums to have all claims satisfactorily adjusted, and have altogether conducted in so reasonable and just a manner as to compel the admiration of those who most doubted the results of emancipation. Such evidences prove that it is the negro himself who is to conquer and remove the difficulties of his situation, and to accomplish which he only needs fair play.—*Boston Journal.*

☞ The old slaveholders die hard. Even in "my Maryland" they cannot realize the changed condition of the colored man from slavery to freedom, nor will they until they are punished severely for some of the many barbarities they are constantly inflicting on this class of persons. Recently, at a political meeting held in Charles county, Md., while a gentleman was addressing those assembled in favor of the election of the only loyal candidate for the office of County Clerk out of a dozen present who were seeking the office, a colored man named Craig, who had the temerity to cheer the speaker, was set upon by a number of plantation overseers, among whom was George Mudd, a brother of one of the conspirators recently convicted at Washington, and beaten in the most shameful manner. A rope was put about his neck, after he had been disabled by blows, and an attempt was made to hang him on the spot, which was frustrated by the considerate portion of those present. He was then sent to jail for attempting to defend himself from the outrages of his persecutors. Warrants have been issued for the arrest of the parties engaged in the affair, but the state of society in the quarter where they reside does not justify the hope that they will be punished.—*Chester (Pa.) Republican.*

A LETTER FROM GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON. The Fredericksburg (Va.) Ledger of Tuesday publishes the following letter of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston:—

BUFFALO SPRINGS, Mecklenberg Co., Va., Aug. 17, 1865.

You ask my views of the future course and future interest of us all. The case is so plain that very little can be said or written upon it. We of the South referred the question at issue between the United States to the arbitrament of the sword. The decision has been made, and is against us. We acquiesce in that decision, accept it as final, and recognize the fact that Virginia is again one of the United States. Our duties and interests coincide. We shall consult the one and perform the other, by doing all we can to promote the welfare of our neighbors, and to restore prosperity to the country. We should at once commence the duties of peaceful citizens, by entering upon some useful pursuit, qualifying ourselves to vote if possible, and at the polls our votes should be cast for conservative men—men who understand and will maintain the interest of Virginia as one of the United States. This is the course which I have recommended to all those with whom I have conversed on the subject, and that which I have adopted for myself as far as practicable.

Very truly yours,
J. E. JOHNSTON.

Mrs. Jefferson Davis, her mother and sister, her sons Jeff. and Bob, and daughter Maggie, arrived at New York a few days ago from Savannah. The object of their trip, as they informed fellow passengers, is to place the children at some Canadian school for education, though Mrs. Howell (Mrs. Davis's mother) feared that they would not be able to get any farther than New York, they were "such big rebels." Master Jeff. talked a good deal about going to Europe, and said that when he got back he would show the Yankees what he could do. Mrs. Davis kept very quiet, it doubtless being one of the conditions of her taking the trip at this time, that she should travel incognito as much as possible. Mrs. Howell and the children passed through Albany, Tuesday, for Montreal.

AN IRRESISTIBLE ILLUSTRATION. Harper's *Weekly* contains what can only be called an irresistible illustration of the franchise question. On one page "Freedom" is represented seated on a chair of State, resting her right arm on a shield, while with her right hand she supports her forehead as if in deep, profound study. Kneeling at her feet are some of the principal traitors, and below the group appears the word "Pardon;" with the question of *Columbia*—"Shall I trust these men? This picture is truly suggestive, and is well calculated, alone, to appeal to the judgment and the justice of all who love the country. But the illustration, in juxtaposition, gives to Columbia's question a strange significance. The illustration opposite represents Columbia standing erect on the porch of the Capitol, and by her side a negro soldier on crutches, one leg having been amputated. Beneath this picture is the word "Franchise;" and as if in continuation of the illustration, "*Shall I trust these men?*" appear the words, "*And not this man?*" We defy the true man to gaze on such an illustration and not feel stirring in his heart an emotion of gratitude and justice to the black man.—*Washington Republican.*

The manner in which Secretary Seward came to know of the death of President Lincoln was singularly touching. A correspondent of the Philadelphia *Bulletin* says:

"Mr. Seward had been kept in ignorance of the attack on the President, his physician fearing that the shock would be too great for him to bear, and all newspapers were rigidly excluded from his room. On the Sunday following the assassination, the Secretary had the bed wheeled around so that he could see the tops of the trees in the park opposite, just putting on the spring foliage, when his eye caught the stars and stripes at half-mast on the War Department, on which he gazed awhile, then, turning to his attendant, said: "The President is dead." The attendant stammered and changed color as he tried to say nay, but the sagacious old man said: "If he had been alive, he would have been the first to call on me; but he has not been here, nor has he sent to know how I am, and there's the flag at half-mast." The old statesman's inductive reasoning had told the truth, and he lay in silence, tears coursing down his gashed cheeks, as the dreadful truth sank into his mind."

SEPARATION OF RACES. We have said that the white inhabitants of the South would never permit their colored children and grand-children to be separated from them, and colonized in a distant country. "You will never let them go," said we to our white cousins and uncles. The *Bee*, whose declaration will not be suspected in this matter, already protests against a separation of races. "We are convinced," says that paper, "that Gen. Cox overstates, as far as the population of the South is concerned, the natural antagonism between the races. A more extended observation than that which his military life in the South afforded would have corrected exaggeration. He would have seen that the two races, when left to adjust their relation without exterior pressur or shock, manifest a singular aptitude for amicable coexistence." The large number of children of mixed blood does not admit of any doubt about it.

We told you, gentlemen, that you would not let them go.—*New Orleans Tribune.*

A "CONCILIATED" REBEL. The Nashville correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune* gives the following specimen of the conciliated rebel feeling: A widow of a leading rebel of that city, who was endeavoring to obtain possession of her husband's property, was the speaker. "General," said she, "I have taken the oath of amnesty. I didn't take it because I liked or believed in it. I want my house back. Of course, its requirements will be obeyed. But oath-taking can't make me love you. How I hate your country—hate them all! We are not converted; we are not subjugated. I am frank, General, you see. You'll like that better than hypocrisy, I reckon. But we should have succeeded if Jeff Davis had not been incapable, and our Congress imbecile. I gave two sons to the war, and I would give two more to fight you again, if I could."

SLAVERY AND SECESSION ANNULLED IN MISSISSIPPI. *Jackson, Miss.*, 21*st*. The Convention to-day adopted the following amendment to the State Constitution by a vote of 86 to 11:—

"The institution of slavery having been abolished in the State of Mississippi, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, other than in punishment of crime, of which the party shall have been duly convicted, shall hereafter exist in the State, and the Legislature at its next session, and thereafter as the public welfare may require, shall provide for the protection and security of the person and property of the freedmen of the State, and guard them and the State from the evils that may arise from their sudden emancipation."

The convention has passed an ordinance, declaring the ordinance of secession null and void.

At an informal meeting of the delegates in their individual capacities, a memorial was presented, expressed in eloquent terms, petitioning President Johnson to extend pardons to Jefferson Davis and Governor Clark, which was acquiesced in by all present.

AN INSULT TO THE PRESIDENT. A special Washington dispatch to the New York *Evening Post* says, that among the crowd of applicants for pardon that thronged the President's house on Friday, there was a man who brought a letter to President Johnson from a distinguished politician. It was to the following purport: "That the bearer was a poor man, who was not possessed of the five hundred dollars which he understood was necessary to obtain such a document, and trusted to the generosity of the President to grant the pardon." Those who were present will never forget the language and manner of the President. He declared that the letter was a gross and unwarrantable insult, not only upon himself, but upon every member of his household, even to the humblest page in attendance. The man, by his order, was immediately conducted to the door.

FURTHER DESTRUCTION OF WHALERS. A San Francisco telegram of the 31 inst. says, the following vessels have been destroyed by the pirate Shenandoah: Herman J. Howland, Nassau, Brunswick, James Manny, Waverly, Martha, and Congress, all of New Bedford. The Favorite, of Fairhaven, Covington, of Warren, and the Neil, were bonded to carry the seamen belonging to the vessels to San Francisco. The last seen of the pirate, she was steering toward Lawrence Bay. The Neil saw other vessels burning after leaving the pirate. The crews of the vessels captured were plundered of everything valuable.

THE PIRATE SHENANDOAH. It is difficult to repress a feeling of strong indignation as we hear of the ravages of this dastardly pirate among the whalers in the Northern seas. Even supposing that the war was not over, and that the poor excuse of recognized belligerency could be offered for such a course, it is both cowardly and characteristic of the way in which this war has been carried on by the rebels. The fishermen of the Northern seas are honest, peaceable and industrious men, engaged in a pursuit which in no way affected the issue of the contest, whose destruction would not help the case in the least, and whose prosperous voyages, were they allowed to make them, could never have contributed to Southern defeat. There were foes enough worthy of any antagonist, had these chivalrous corsairs chosen to meet them in legitimate combat on the high seas. But they have uniformly been careful to attack only the weak and defenceless, while they themselves have kept within the shelter of those ports whose merchants made no secret of their joy at the destruction of our marine.—*Boston Journal.*

☞ Benj. Wood, ex-member of Congress from New York, has replaced his name at the head of the New York *Daily News*, as editor, and closes a long editorial over his own signature, as follows:

The gentleman to whom I delegated my editorial functions pines in a Federal dungeon, cut off from intercourse with his family and friends, denied the privilege of trial, held in ignorance of the fate of those who are most dear to him, debarred from physical or mental exercise, and with an enfeebled frame wasted by consumption, he is left to perish by inches, beyond the reach of judicial process or of human sympathy.

The war is not yet ended. There are battles to be fought, upon which great issues and mighty interests depend. The campaigns of the future require the friends of liberty and justice to form with full ranks into solid phalanx, and the sentinels must be faithful and vigilant at their posts. I place my name again at the head of *The Daily News*, in token that I mean to fight this battle out; and it shall remain there henceforward, until I succumb to might, or it succumbs to right.

BENJAMIN WOOD.

☞ The ex-rebel General Mansfield Lovell is said to be the editor of the New York *News*.

☞ Only about 100 rebels have been pardoned by President Johnson, though 25,000 applications for pardon have been made by Southern gentlemen. The chivalry are on their knees. The part of the beggar is new to the chevalier, but he fills it well. He seems to take naturally to it. Among the favored few who have found that a President's face can give grace, is old Cave Johnson, whom some of our elderly readers may recollect as a Tennessee member of Congress more than twenty years ago, and who was even then known as "Old Cave." He was Postmaster-General under President Polk. Now he's "caved in," and is as repentant as most rogues are who have been made to see that they have not played the winning game.—*Boston Traveller.*

THE DISADVANTAGES OF CRINOLINE. The New York papers says that, at the fire in John street on Friday afternoon, one young girl who was dangerously burned, and Mrs. Catharine Cleveland, who was burned to death, might have escaped had it not been for their crinoline. The former tripped and fell by her hoops catching upon a nail, and she was held in that predicament until her clothing was nearly burned off. The latter, when her clothes took fire, ran for the street door, she being unable to put out the flames, her crinoline preventing her from doing so, and sunk down at the lower part of the main stairway, where her body was found by her husband, and identified only by a ring. Not a vestige of clothing remained, except the shapeless frame of a crinoline, which still clung about her blackened limbs. Her flesh was black and shriveled to the bone. It was entirely burned away from the face, the eyes being gone, and the two rows of white teeth grinning from the denuded skull in a ghastly manner.

☞ A St. Paul, Minnesota, correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune* says: "I suppose Eastern philanthropists will stand aghast as they read that the first installment of bloodhounds, *for the purpose of hunting Indians*, if any should venture near the settlements, have reached this city. Capt. Potter paid only $65. They were dog-cheap at that price. Col. Evans, who went South for bloodhounds, has found the Tennessee stock exhausted, and is now in Mississippi making purchases. The 'noble savage' had better climb a tree, or resort to some other method to leave this world, when the dogs come around." Atrocious!

BOSTON, August 24 An excursion train, filled with passengers, returning to the city last evening from a pic-nic party at Abington, on the Old Colony Railroad, collided with a hand-car on the track, in which were two men. The engine, tender, baggage, smoking, and four passenger cars were thrown from the track, three of the latter being rolled down the embankment. They contained nearly a hundred and fifty passengers, including many ladies, who were taken out of the windows. It was found that only half a dozen had received injuries, but none of a serious nature.

☞ It is now stated that over thirty persons were killed, and between fifty and sixty others injured, by the disaster on Friday last on the Tennessee and Alabama Railroad, at Richmond Creek.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Aug. 28. Thirteen bodies, five of them white, have been recovered from the wrecked cars on Richmond Creek, near Reynold's Station. One of the cars is underneath the other in the bed of the creek, and has not yet been reached. It is said that it contained over twenty negro soldiers, who have, of course, all perished.

☞ Gen. Kilpatrick, who writes as well as he fights, and who is travelling through North Carolina, has written a letter on Southern reconstruction, in which he says that that sort of work has been commenced four years too soon. He has no faith in the "loyalty" of the Southrons, and predicts the worst conduct on their part as soon as they shall have recovered their political power, and reformed their alliance with their old Northern flunkeys, the democrats. All that we hear from the South confirms what is said by this brave and discerning soldier, who knows whereof he writes.

☞ At Gen. Grant's reception at Galena, one of the arches under which the procession had to pass bore the words, "General, that sidwalk is built!"

☞ Mrs. Gen. Grant is soon to be presented with a dress comb, a pair of drop ear-rings, and a brooch, made in part of the wood of the celebrated Appomattox tree under which Lee surrendered to General Grant.

BEECHER UP A TREE. In the Sierra Nevada there are gigantic trees. Visitors who will insert a marble slab in the bark, and inclose the tree by an iron rail, have the privilege of naming a tree. Mr. Benjamin C. Howard, of San Francisco, while on a visit to the Sierra recently, chose one 300 feet high, and 51 in circumference, whose bark is two feet thick, and named it "Henry Ward Beecher." It stands next to one named "Lincoln."

☞ Betsey Wilder, a negro woman, died in Richmond lately, aged one hundred and eight years. She was present at Yorktown, Virginia, when Cornwallis surrendered his army, and used to relate with peculiar pleasure many incidents connected with that memorable event. A son, ninety years of age, attended the funeral of his venerable mother. This old negro man resides at Petersburg, and, apparently, bids fair to attain even a greater age than his mother.

☞ The estimated number of visitors at Newport is 10,000. Of the summer residences owned and occupied by persons from abroad, 53 belong to New York people, 26 to Boston, 18 to Philadelphia, 12 to Providence, 5 to Baltimore, and 15 to other places. These do not include the hired cottages.

☞ The Nashville *Republican* says that the proofs that the Alabama slave oligarchy intend to re-establish slavery as soon as the Federal troops are withdrawn from the State, "crowd thickly upon us almost every day."

☞ The Chicago *Journal* says that Mr. Edward Ketchum kept open house at Chicago last summer at the time of the Democratic Convention which nominated McClellan, and spent his money freely.

☞ The Virginia negroes are imitating white folks in almost every respect. At Leesburg, on Tuesday last, they held a regular tournament, at which the dusky population from the surrounding country was present. About ten knights, some of them most fantastically dressed, entered the list. A large crowd was in attendance.

☞ There was a proposition, the other day, in Raleigh, North Carolina, for a dinner "to be given by the people of this city and county to friends recently in the Confederate service." General Rogers put a stop to it.

☞ President Hopkins of Williams College, in his recent Baccalaureate Sermon, held it "to be demonstrable that the second table of the law—'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'"—is the only law of a stable society. It is radical. There is in it the intensest radicalism. The very essence of it is to give to every human being his rights—*to every human being.* What more can radicalism ask?"

POLITICAL. It is estimated that the pro-slavery men in Kentucky may have a bare working majority of two in the Senate, and sixteen at least nominal majority in the House—that is, 58 to 42. The last House stood 68 "Opposition" to 32 "Union," and the Senate 26 "Opposition" to 12 "Union."

LEE, THE PERJURER AND TRAITOR. A writer in the New York *World* eulogizes Robert E. Lee. He is "an illustrious leader," whose sword "has never been stained by bad faith or dishonor."

This writer is apparently not aware that Lee deliberately violated his oath of allegiance to the United States, by which he had been educated and honored; that he is guilty of treason as well as of perjury, and that he is responsible for more useless and criminal bloodshed than any other living man, except it is Jefferson Davis.—*Chicago Republican.*

☞ The Mobile *Register* gives an account of a meeting of negroes said to have been held near that city, at which 900, tired of freedom, resolved to return to their masters. Rather doubtful!

☞ The Great Eastern arrived safely at Crookhaven on Aug. 17. The prospects of the cable were generally regarded as hopeful, and the quotation of shares improved ⅜ per cent. It was thought that arrangements would be made for the immediate renewal of efforts to recover the cable.

☞ Paymaster Eddy, who was lost on the steamer Brother Jonathan on the Pacific coast, at the time was on his way with $200,000 to pay off troops in Oregon and Washington Territory. His clerks were also lost.

☞ Two trains—one eastward, the other westward bound—collided on the Long Island Railroad Monday morning. Four passengers were killed, and from 20 to 30 wounded.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Aug. 29. Gov. Brough died at one o'clock this afternoon.

☞ Two Northern men, who had opened a trade store near Tuskeegee, Macon county, Ala., detected a negro in stealing something from their stock. They tied him up and whipped him with such severity that he died soon after being released next morning. The traders afterward fled to Cuba.

☞ The Anti-negro-suffrage party of Ohio is dwindling to nothingness very rapidly. To a call made for a convention in Scott county, about a dozen responded, and four of these were secessionists. The proportion is about the same in other counties where conventions have been held.

☞ Joe Johnston, while at Fortress Monroe, was asked if he would like to see Jeff. Davis. He replied: "I do not wish to see him, or hear his name mentioned even."

A SAD AND FATAL ACCIDENT. We learn from a correspondent that Rev. Dr. Eli Ballou, the proprietor and editor of the *Vermont Repository*, a weekly paper at Montpelier, together with Mrs. B. and his brother-in-law, Mr. Wheelock, and Mrs. W., were on a visit to their relatives in Central New York, and while descending a hill the horses became unmanageable. Dr. B. jumped from the vehicle, Mr. W. was instantly killed, and the ladies and Dr. B. were much injured. The escape of any of the party from death seems a miracle.

A monument to John Brown is talked of in Torrington, Ct. where he was born.

THE NATION.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART,

Will be published July 6, 1865.

Its main objects will be—

First—The discussion of the topics of the day, and, above all, of legal, economical and constitutional questions, with greater accuracy and moderation than are now to be found in the daily press.

Second—The maintenance and diffusion of true democratic principles in society and government, and the advocacy and illustration of whatever in legislation or in manners seems likely to promote a more equal distribution of the fruits of progress and civilization.

Third—The earnest and persistent consideration of the condition of the laboring classes at the South, as a matter of vital interest to the nation at large, with a view to the removal of all artificial distinctions between them and the rest of the population, and the securing to them, as far as education and justice can do it, of an equal chance in the race of life.

Fourth—The enforcement and illustration of the doctrine that the whole community has the strongest interest, both moral, political and material, in their elevation, and that there can be no real stability for the republic so long as they are left in ignorance and degradation.

Fifth—The fixing of public attention upon the political importance of popular education, and the dangers which a system like ours runs from the neglect of it in any portion of our territory.

Sixth—The collection and diffusion of trustworthy information as to the condition and prospects of the Southern States, the openings they offer to capital, the supply and kind of labor which can be obtained in them, and the progress made by the colored population in acquiring the habits and desires of civilized life.

Seventh—Sound and impartial criticism of books and works of art.

THE NATION will not be the organ of any party, sect or body. It will, on the contrary, make an earnest effort to bring to the discussion of political and social questions a really critical spirit, and to wage war upon the vices of violence, exaggeration and misrepresentation, by which so much of the political writing of the day is marred.

The criticism of books and works of art will form one of its most prominent features; and pains will be taken to have this task performed in every case by writers possessing special qualifications for it.

It is intended in the interest of investors, as well as of the public generally, to have questions of trade and finance treated every week by a writer

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

A PRAYER.

BY K. C.

Father of mercies! when the heart, athirst,
Cries out with such wild clamor for the waves
Whose crystal beauty is a mirage only,
Show us our comforts,—turn our eyes to see
The cooling fruits of consolation near!
Bid us remember that the well-beloved,
Though distant, are this side the gates of pearl.
And, Oh! dear God, whatever lot be ours,
Let not the brows we love be pale with pain,
And dark eyes grow too dark with depth of anguish!

No carrier dove may rustle through the leaves
That shade our lattice, to assure our heart.
All day the light winds wave their idle wings,
But we may send no message. God of love,
Thine arms enclose us ever! Make us feel
The same strong arms are folding now, as close,
As tenderly, around the loved afar!

ANDERSONVILLE.

BY ROBERT H. NEWELL—(ORPHEUS C. KERR.)

Where ramparts frown upon the waves,
That leap and crouch like hounds below,
And Ocean's hoary giant slaves
In sullen murmurs surge their woe,
With face upon his hands he sits
With broken heart and wand'ring wits,
And starts at every gleam that flits
From the sea at the window-sill;
For the sound in his ear is still
Andersonville!
Andersonville is the word from the sea to him,
There in his cell, in the casemate lone and dim.

The sentry's step upon the walls
He hears; but not as mortals hear;
And closer with it seems to stalk
A ghastly thing from off a bier—
A something ever near the door,
To enter once, and then no more
Be visitor upon the floor
Of the man it is sent to kill!
And the thoughts come quick and chill—
Andersonville!
Andersonville is the shadow of death to him,
There in his cell, in the casement lone and dim.

Hours follow hours from morn till night,
As grave on grave in silence creeps;
And earth with Life's twin-brother wakes;
And earth with Death's twin-brother sleeps!
And all in one dead horror blends,
That ne'er commences, never ends;
But through his broken spirit sends,
With an awful and vengeful thrill,
That scene of his murderous will—
Andersonville!
Andersonville is the vision of Time to him,
There in his cell, in the casement lone and dim.

'Twixt fort and sky the banner glows;
And as the darkness wraps it round,
Its vague and stifled flutter grows
The life-blood bubbling from a wound!
There! there! again the creature cries
For food; and mad with suffering dies
With his own hand before their eyes
Who share in his every ill,
And there they bent over him still—
Andersonville!
Andersonville is the prison that maddens him,
There in his cell, in the casement lone and dim.

The moon swims slowly o'er the walls;
A damp, dead mirror of the sun;
And where her light all pallid falls,
The waters colder seem to run;
It pierces through the dungeon gate,
To make ten thousand forms of hate
Grin ghastlier from each granite plate
That armors him safely from ill!
And the hiss in his ear is shrill—
Andersonville!
Andersonville is the dream of the night to him,
There in his cell, in the casement lone and dim.

Along the billows sweeps the gull,
Not lonely while she hears her wings;
Not lonelier in the vapor dull,
The lark unsolitary sings.
With face upon his hands he sits,
With broken heart and wandering wits,
And starts at every gleam that flits
From the sea at his window-sill;
And the word to his soul is still
Andersonville!
Andersonville is alone in the world with him,
There in his cell, in the casement lone and dim.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

[FROM LOWELL'S HARVARD COMMEMORATION ODE.]

Such was he, our Martyr-Chief,
Whom late the Nation he had led,
With ashes on her head,
Wept with the passion of an angry grief:
Forgive me, if from present things I turn
To speak what in my heart will beat and burn,
And hang my wreath on his world-honored urn.
Nature, they say, doth dote,
And cannot make a man
Save on some worn-out plan,
Repeating us by rote:
For him her Old-World mould aside she threw,
And, choosing sweet clay from the breast
Of the unexhausted West,
With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,
Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and true.
How beautiful to see
Once more a shepherd of mankind indeed,
Who loved his charge, but never loved to lead;
One whose meek flock the people joyed to be.
Not lured by any cheat of birth,
But by his clear-grained human worth,
And brave old wisdom of sincerity!
They knew that outward grace is dust;
They could not choose but trust
In that sure-footed mind's unfaltering skill,
And supple-tempered will
That bent like perfect steel to spring again and thrust.
Or, then, of Europe fronting mornward still,
Ere any names of Serf and Peer
Could Nature's equal scheme deface;
Here was a type of the true elder race,
And one of Plutarch's men talked with us face to face.
I praise him not; it were too late;
And some innative weakness there must be
In him who condescends to victory
Such as the Present gives, and cannot wait,
Safe in himself as in a fate.
So always firmly he;
He knew to bide his time,
And can his fame abide,
Still patient in his simple faith sublime,
Till the wise years decide.
Great Captains, with their guns and drums,
Disturb our judgment for the hour;
But at last silence comes;
These all are gone, and standing like a tower,
Our children shall behold his fame,
The kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American.

—*September Atlantic Monthly.*

PRAYER FOR OUR COUNTRY.

From foes that would our land devour;
From guilty pride and lust of power;
From wild sedition' lawless hour;
From yoke of slavery;

From blinded zeal, by faction led;
From giddy change, by fancy bred;
From poisoned error's serpent head;
Good Lord, preserve us free!

The Liberator.

GERRIT SMITH ON TEMPERANCE.

In which was the Convention Right?

On the first day of the National Temperance Convention, held at Saratoga the present month, Rev. John Pierpont argued that the way in which the sellers of intoxicating liquors kill a man, (and they kill hundreds a day in our land,) is more wicked and calamitous than the way in which Booth killed our beloved President. The Convention went with him, and cheered him to the echo. But, on its last day, a majority of the Convention refused to consecrate their votes to the prohibition of the selling of such drinks. It is true that, as heretofore, they resolved to "do all in their power" to get consistent Temperance men into office. But, as it has never yet been "in their power" to vote against their political parties for this purpose, it is not at all probable that it ever will be, or indeed that they intend it ever shall be.

In which was the Convention right?—in that unstudied expression of soul on the first day, or in this piece of policy on its last day? Clearly, in the former. Ay, but for party interest and party temptation, there would not have been one in the Convention to take the side of this policy. For, surely, there was not one in it who would not have been ready to declare that he would never vote for a candidate whose official influence would serve to countenance and uphold the work of thieves. But if a technical or literal murder—even that of which Booth was guilty—has not the abhorrent features of the crime of the rumseller against the body and soul of his victim, then must the work of thieves be as innocence itself as compared with the wholesale slaughter chargeable upon the sale of intoxicating drinks. Happily, the political parties do not extend their wing over theft as well as over drunkard-making. If they did, what security could there be that their members would not vote on the side of theft also?

But it will be said that the sellers of intoxicating drinks are not as bad as thieves and technical murderers. It is readily granted, not only that they are not necessarily as bad, but that in many respects they may be very estimable persons. They may be unconscious of the evil character of their occupation; and, because they are unconscious of it, it is possible for them to cultivate many virtues. But it is in reference, not to their personal character, but to the character of their work, that we are to refuse to vote for those who would protect that work. We are to vote not in their darkness, but in our own light—not according to their ignorance of the character of their work, but according to our knowledge of it.

It was said that in war we cannot always vote for temperance men. This was not denied. Indeed, all were ready to admit that since, in a life and death war, the one great duty of civil government is to save the country, so the men to be elected to civil office at that time are those who will do most towards discharging that one great duty. One of the speakers, who was strenuous to have the Convention commit itself to consistent voting, admitted that he voted for Gen. Wadsworth and Gov. Fenton without reference to their temperance views; and he justified himself in doing so on the ground that, in each case, he voted for a leader in the war, and not for a Governor, whose duties would be the ordinary duties of a Governor. Clearly right is it to make the voting in such a war an exception to the rule of voting.

At two points the Saratoga Convention did well. It adopted a good paper (written by Dr. Jewett) on the medical use of intoxicating liquors; and it passed a good Resolution (written by Rev. Dr. Marsh) against the use of them at the Lord's Supper. Nevertheless, I cannot see the benefit of Temperance Conventions, nor indeed of Temperance Societies, as long as those who compose them shrink from resolving to stand by their principles at the polls. There was much displeasure in the Convention because one of its members called the Anti-Slavery reform a failure, and the Temperance reform also. But nothing is plainer than that the overthrow of slavery is not due to the Anti-Slavery reform, but to the rebellion. Never was American Slavery stronger than at the time of the first overt acts of the rebellion—than at the time when Congress and people were willing to change even the organic law of the nation in order to afford more protection to slavery. The failure of the Temperance reform is no less signal than that of the Anti-Slavery reform. For, at the polls—at that vital and decisive point—the treachery of professed friends toward the one reform has been as common as toward the other. How idle to deny that the Temperance reform is a failure! Never before were there so many dramshops and so many drunkards in the land. Never before were the doctors making drunkards so fast. Never before were there so many streaming eyes and so many broken hearts to bear witness to the march of Intemperance. The friends of the Temperance reform are deeply interested in claiming that it is a success. So also are the friends of the Anti Slavery reform in making a similar claim for their reform. These claims go to vindicate them from blame for voting against their reforms. For whence the need of their voting for them, if their mere talking for them—and this too in spite of their voting against them—be sufficient to insure the success of the reforms?

In connection with my reference to the doctors, let me say, that of all persons who have not yet become drunkards, the most pitiable are they who are drinking intoxicating liquor under medical advice. Others drink it upon their own responsibility, and therefore with more or less caution. But these drink it upon the highest authority, and therefore with no fear of consequences. Other tipplers often restrain their appetite through shame of being seen to indulge it. But these indulge it boldly under the impervious plea that they are but taking medicine. Other tipplers are open to admonition and reformation. But these have infallible doctors to shield them from ignorant admonition, and to exempt them from all sense of their need of reformation. In a word, whilst the one, drinking intoxicating liquor without excuse, and therefore against conscience—against that voice of God in the soul—may stop ere it be too late; the other, drinking it for health, and therefore with an approving conscience, will, probably, never stop until life stops. Emphatically true is it that no other tippler is going so surely to the drunkard's grave as the one who lets his doctor lead him to it.

I see that many political newspapers are afraid that the Temperance men mean to vote for Temperance. They may dismiss their fears. American reformers are too fast bound in the chains of political party to vote for any moral reform, however vital it may be. They who, in the Saratoga Convention, passed the resolution on political action, did not mean to commit themselves thereby to set temperance above party. Their rejection of the amendment shows they did not. As heretofore, so doubtless hereafter, they will continue to talk, write and pray for temperance, and to vote against it; to praise their Temperance Society, and to vote for their rum parties. The wonder is, that such respectable men can have the face to carry on such a farce.

I do not forget how extensively it is held, that it is by suasion and not by votes that Temperance is to be advanced. But the far truer doctrine is, that right suasion leads to right voting; and that the moral influences which stop short of striking blows at the rum laws, are as spurious as are the tactics by which an army is amused in parade, but by which it is unfitted to enter the battle-field.

Nor do I forget how extensive is the denial of the right of Temperance to call on Government. For one, I would not have Government called on to help churches, nor schools, nor the temperance reform. All that I ask of Temperance men at this point is that, in common with other subjects of Government, they shall insist that Government fill its one office of afford. ing effectual protection to persons and property. But, since it is obvious that such protection cannot be afforded without shutting up the dramshops, that great manufactory of madmen, incendiaries, murderers, and, it may be added, of paupers also, so the Temperance men with all their fellow-subjects are bound to require Government to shut it up. Of course, I admit that the Temperance men are, *as such*, especially interested in the suppression of the sale of intoxicating drinks. Such suppression, although its direct aim be only to protect person and property, would, nevertheless, afford immense incidental benefit to the cause of Temperance. For—not to speak of this benefit in other respects—what an argument against intoxicating drinks it would be, that the sale of them is, in the authoritative judgment of Government, too full of peril to property and person to be tolerated!

It is said that the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating drinks has been tried in various parts of the country, and that, wherever tried, it has failed. I admit that it has, here and there, been *entered upon*, though, no where, more than seemingly or half-heartedly. But where has it been *tried?* Where has it been clung to, year in and year out?—and by those, too, who have never fallen back into the policy of their rum parties? No people who, for a while, have gone for, or rather seemed to have gone for, "prohibition," and who have afterwards relapsed into the interests and aims of their rum parties, are capable of *trying* "prohibition." The stuff for *trying* a measure so hated by men, and so approved by God, is not in them.

What, however, had "prohibition" been tried for a century, or even for ten centuries, and had always failed?—that would not have proved "prohibition" to be wrong. Success is not the only rule of right. Nor would that have justified the abandonment of "prohibition." We are to persevere in obeying the command not to steal, and the command not to kill; and this, too, though there may be an increase of theft and murder. Nay, the more the increase, the more must be the perseverance. So, too, are we to persevere in obeying the no less plain command against the sale of intoxicating drinks—the sale from which no good flows, and from which flows an amount of evil several times greater than the sum total of all thefts and technical murders—not to say that far more than half these murders are to be set down to its account. And the more such sale may increase, and drunkards be multiplied by it, only the more persistent must be our endeavors for its suppression. We are to stand by the right in darkness as well as in the light. We are to believe in the right, not only when cheered by the sight of its successes, but also when they are too distant to be discerned.

But we are confronted with the assertion that, inasmuch as the public sentiment does not call for "prohibition," we are not to labor for it. As well, however, might it be asserted, that where the public sentiment does not call for laws against brothels and gambling-houses, there should be no effort for their enactment. The question in such cases is not what the public sentiment calls for, but what does RIGHT—what does GOD—call for. Utterly false is the doctrine that we are not to urge a measure until the majority are for it. If only we are convinced it is called for by the needs of earth and the authority of Heaven, then, though we are ever so few, we are to urge it without delay, without intermission, and without end. For, 1st, our obedience to our convictions is the condition on which we retain them. 2d, Our obedience to them is the way to impress others with their truth and value. Our own belief in "prohibition" will be likely to fade away, if we fail to act it out in endeavors for "prohibition." Moreover, thus earnestly and unequivocally to express our belief in "prohibition" is the way in which we can do most to convert others to it. Our habit of voting for the interests and measures of our political party goes far toward accounting for the high value we put upon them. So, too, the more faithfully we vote for "prohibition," the dearer will it become to us: and the more faithfully we vote for it, the more others will respect both us and it. But the objectors will say that, after all, we may fail to get "prohibition." Our answer to them is—*only let not the failure be through our fault.* And they will also say that, even if we succeed in getting it, it may nevertheless not be enforcen and sustained. Our answer to them, at this point, is—*only let it not be through our unsteady zeal and unfaithful voting, that it shall fail to be enforced and sustained.* If there must be these failures, only let the responsibility for them be upon others, and not upon ourselves.

It has often occurred to me that, since our Temperance men refuse to carry their principles to the polls, and to vote for "prohibition," they would do well to break up their Temperance Societies, and to cease holding their Temperance Conventions. In this wise several important objects would be gained. 1st. They could then, as they cannot now, cultivate self-respect. And now, when they meet, they can hardly fail to laugh in each other's faces, as did the Roman Augurs, over the conscious farce they are playing. 2d. This farce played out, and the people would no longer look upon Temperance with the prejudice and contempt which its present unhappy associations excite. 3. The putting aside of this sham and far worse than worthless Temperance movement would make room for an earnest and efficient one.

The English Temperance Reformers have recently invited that noble man, General Neal Dow, to come over and help them. They could not have made a better selection amongst us. And yet it seems very absurd that Temperance missionaries should go to England, where the Temperance spirit is the true one, from America, where it is spurious. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are contributed annually in England to sustain by the printed page and eloquent lecturer the agitation for governmental protection from the dramshop. Here and there an individual subscribes (reckoning in our currency) fifteen thousand dollars a year. Here and there twenty thousand dollars. I need not say that the Temperance men of England vote for "prohibition." Such earnest givers do, of course, vote in the direction of their gifts. But English Reformers always vote for their Reforms, and therefore always carry them. It was by voting for them that the English Reformers carried their Anti-Slavery Reform, and their Corn Law Reform; and it is in this wise that they will carry the Suffrage and Temperance Reforms.

Oh, ye earnest Temperance men of England!—no longer look to us to be your teachers. But condescend to be the teachers of our poor, half-hearted, party debauched Temperance men, who are so silly and infatuated as to make more account of the schemes and interests of their political parties than of the sublime mission of Temperance. No wonder that our wealthy Temperance men have ceased their munificent gifts to the cause. In the light of the past, what security could they have that their gifts would not be used against the cause?—yea, that they would not be used to pay Temperance Society agents and lecturers for electioneering for Rum candidates against Temperance candidates?

Every great reform is attended by a contest between itself and party politics. Which shall yield to the other is the question. American Reformers, at first, talk big; but soon after, they betray their Reform to their political party. English Reformers, on the contrary, take a great soul-oath, (and keep it,) that political party shall yield to the Reform. Hence, not only the sure and speedy success of English Reforms, but, more than from any other cause, the remarkable advancement of the English people in intelligence, earnestness and firmness. Their Reforms are their schools. Were I asked, how it came about that the English people were able to withstand the endeavors of their aristocracy to draw them into sympathy with the Southern Rebellion—I would answer, that it is owing, far more than to any thing else, to the educating influences upon them of their great Reforms—of those deep and wide agitations which have resulted in the overthrow of hoary, crushing wrongs, and the establishment of vital, everlasting Rights. On the other hand, few things have done so much to damage the character of the American people, to reduce their earnestness, to weaken their allegiance to principle, and to bring them under the sway of shallow, shifting expediency, as their habit of trifling with and betraying the great Reforms which have made their solemn appeals to the public heart.

GERRIT SMITH.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

Clearness of purpose, concentration and continuous industry, joined to an integrity so far above suspicion that even when great leaders in all branches of the government were openly accused, not even a whisper of doubt questioned his—these form the quadruple claim to greatness which no American can question in Edwin M. Stanton; and to his possession of these, in ampler measure than even his friends assert, is due the extinction of the rebellion.

From the day when he defined treason for Buchanan, Floyd and Thompson, to the hour when the surrender of Joseph E. Johnston practically ended the war, he has labored to infuse the unity of aim in every branch of the Government which alone was needed, and which secured the triumph of the Federal cause.

The party that elected Mr. Lincoln might split and oppose the administration, the great Democratic party might shake the country with its assaults, evoke issue after issue, render every move, which should have been simple, concrete, by the addition of political aims; still the Secretary, *alone*, could not be diverted from the heaven-imposed task of the salvation of the Republic's integrity. From every military defeat, from each political excitement, from the manœuvres of Fremont and the factitious problems raised by McClellan, and from the financial agitations of the country's crippled commerce, his undeviating power of will drew arguments for more men, more material to put down the cause of all agitation—the rebellion; and the rebellion is put down.

Had the Secretary ever suffered himself to mix plans of personal aggrandizement with his great purpose, and sought to make his Secretaryship a stepping-stool to the Presidency; had he ceased for an instant to be Secretary of War, and turned political debater, Davis would to-day be President of a separate Confederacy.

But among all the exemplifications of his wondrous concentration of all without, as well as all within, the negro affords perhaps the most striking one. Fremont and Phillips on the one hand, and Vallandigham and Voorhees on the other, shook the governing administration, and threatened to divide the North, and perplexed the President. Again the Secretary stood alone, devising means to use the subject of contention as an element of physical strength against the rebellion. No word is heard from him on negro equality or inferiority, no discussion on Constitutional powers of peoples, States or Presidents; but in their stead his orders are received for arms, clothing, ammunition for a hundred thousand dusky soldiers to be used in putting down the rebellion. The Chicago platform of "Peace with Treason," he analyzes by a trumpet call of "more men for Grant." No agitation can trouble him, no abuse turn him, no disaster discourage him, no threats divert him. Rumors of threatening foreign wars he meets with the simple remark, that if other wars be coming, we must make the more energetic effort to put down the rebellion. The effort made averts the war.

His very entrance into the duties of the Secretaryship sounded the prelude to the triumphal march of eventual success; and the defeat of Zollicoffer remedied the ill effects which a chain of disasters due to mismanagement laid upon the people and upon the army. It was not till his iron will had been felt, that the nation awoke to the exercise of its own.

He is charged with being rude in manner; and rude in manner he may be; but the engineer that is driving a crazy locomotive upon an uncertain track, with a train of precious lives depending upon his skill, with a sense of the awful responsibility resting upon him, can scarce be expected to bow to the listless pedestrian on the road side as politely as the dandy driver of a sleek team on Central Park. And to whom was he ever rude? To men who came with theories to trouble him in his practical work, work the greatest ever allotted to a military minister;—to men who came for permits to effect sordid ends in countries heaving in the throes of death-agonies which he was working to end, where he had shattered armies to reconstruct, direct, clothe and feed. The Secretary of State has compared him to Carnot in ability; but the American Secretary equals the French Minister no less in his stern integrity, pure patriotism, and contempt of shams. With the news of the aceldama of Fredericksburg taxing his head, and wringing his heart, fully alive to the magnitude of its horrors and anticipative of its possible consequences, is it a wonder he could not bow and scrape to some philanthropic fool's suggestions of the meaning of the first sentence of the Declaration of Independence?

Great men in earnest talk earnestly. Speak on a stormy night to a captain on his quarter deck when the ship is on her beam ends, and the passengers are howling to the winds an anthem of responsive terror, and see if he will doff his sou'wester, and sit down to explain to you how you are to save your private pouncet-box, and defer the order necessary to rescuing all from the tumultuous wrath of the seething ocean. In the hour of crisis, God help the nation whose helmsmen steer with white-gloved hands!

No, no! Great is the debt which we all owe to the successful Generals who led our armies. Illimitable as is the gratitude we tender to the memory of the murdered President, to Edwin M. Stanton we owe, under heaven,—and President and Generals know it well,—to him we owe THE UNION.

It has been stated by European writers upon America, that we never put our great men into power, but always select those of *pliant* ability. Perhaps the career of Edwin M. Stanton furnishes the strongest illustration of the falsity of this charge, for a less *pliant* man than he never wielded power. Once satisfied of the requirements of equity and justice, not all the pressure of an excited people, not all the clamor of the united press of the nation, can move him from his inflexible purpose.

The recent trial of the conspirators against the life of Mr. Lincoln affords an illustration yet fresh in the minds of us all. From the Bungtown *Gazette* to the leading administration paper of the country all attacked the Secretary's adopted *modus operandi*. "Star-chambering," "absolutism," "ruin of constitutional liberty," "a new rebellion," and "the plagues of Egpyt" were to be the consequences, if this course were persisted in. They might as well have attacked Gibraltar with potato popguns. Link by link he unfolded the chain of the conspiracy, his well-selected instruments tracked with the certainty of Nemesis the footsteps of the assassin-in-chief, and, under his sagacious instructions and well-selected agents, a crime greater than that of the Borgias is exposed to the eyes of an awe-stricken nation.

There is, in truth, something grand in the contemplation of the unbending will of the man in this matter. He seems elevated by the spirit of justice into a sort of fate from whom there is no escaping. The death of his chief his heart seems to have felt as scarae any other seemed to feel it.

The blood of the martyr appeared to appeal to him individually for justice, and that appeal he answered with a celerity, certainty, and regardlessness of surrounding clamor that invest him with something like solemn grandeur.—*Boston Traveller.*

THE SCHEME TO EXTERMINATE THE COLORED RACE.

If one-tenth part of the reports are true in regard to the ill-treatment of the blacks, which are coming from all parts of the South, thicker and faster, a shocking state of things exists. From localities where there are no national troops come reports that these unfortunate creatures are being hunted down like dogs, and despatched without ceremony. The newspapers in the South are filled with accounts of these brutal murders, which foot up to an aggregate of several hundred deaths per day, which is doubtless only a small portion of the number noticed. An Alabama paper says that this business has become so extensive and common that some planters even boast that they could manure their lands with the dead carcases of negroes. Seriously speaking, it is a matter which demands the prompt attention of the authorities at Washington. If negroes can be shot down daily in garrisoned towns where the authorities are unable to stop this state of things, it is very reasonable to suppose that this brutal work is carried on more extensively where the blacks have no protection. This wholesale murdering of human beings is, we fear, the practical working of the conspiracy to exterminate the colored race, which is revolting to the Christian age. A just God will hold the Government of the United States, which is responsible for the welfare of these people, to a strict accountability for every life thus sacrificed. Deserting these innocent and helpless beings, and denying them proper assistance and protection in the hour of need, and thus leaving them to their fate, is an inhumanity as cruel as the grave, a crime for which the Nation will be punished, either by financial bankruptcy, chaotic discord and disunion, or a pestilence which will not leave enough of the living to bury the dead.

Our neighbor of *The National Democrat*, an ex-member of the "Golden Circle" and a reformed rebel, in referring to this subject, in his recent issue, says,—"This alarming increase of deaths among the Blacks is, we fear, but the developing of the extensive conspiracy alluded to in our last, which has for its object the reënslavement of the negroes or *their entire extermination*, (more likely the latter,) which was not expected would be apparent to the public until after the withdrawal of the national troops, and our readmission to the Union had been secured. Good behavior and discretion having accomplished this, then they, the Knights of the Circle, count on the protection and assistance of the State and local authorities, even if the Southern States are obliged to ratify the Constitutional Amendment abolishing Slavery, which, it is claimed, will be a dead letter, in any event. The armies disbanded, all fears of renewed hostilities removed, and the ascension of the Democratic party to power, is, according to their figuring, also to be realized as a matter of course. "Those whom the gods seek to destroy, they first make mad." Therefore we again say that unless this barbarous work ceases, we fear that Gen. Butler will succeed in his project of organizing a black battalion in every county in the South, to be maintained by the proceeds realized from the confiscated lands of the disloyal, which he claims is the remedy, together with Negro Suffrage, which will secure tranquillity to the Government, protection to the colored people, and justice to all concerned. All this will be realized, unless the Southern people withhold their sympathy and encouragement from the malcontents. In thus exposing their fiendish designs, we hope to destroy their evil intentions and secure our prompt return to the Union, which will not be accomplished for years to come if these confirmed and irreconcilable Secessionists are left to prosecute their suicidal work."

—*Southern Christian Intelligencer, Aug. 5.*

☞We learn from Col. Lawrence, Commandant of the post at Goldsborough, that six negroes were killed at or near Warsaw some two weeks ago. The facts, as related to Col. Lawrence, were as follows: The former owner of the blacks left on the approach of the Union Army, the blacks remaining. They went to work and made a crop. The former owner returned recently, and ordered them to leave. The negroes refused; and the proprietor of the place, getting some neighbors with arms, ordered them off again, and on their refusal to go attacked them, killing six. These facts being reported at Wilmington, a company of soldiers were sent up, and the affair will be investigated by the authorities at Wilmington, if it has not been done already.—*Raleigh Progress, Aug. 16.*

THE PARDONED TRAITORS.

A pertinent illustration of Southern character is found in the effect produced on those prominent rebels who have been pardoned by the President. From all sources, public and private, we learn that they have generally returned to their respective localities more insolent, self-sufficient, boastful and overbearing than ever. They have become centres of disaffection to the government from whose clemency they owe their power to do mischief. They seem to think that their pardon has been wrung from the fears of the Executive, and they brag and swagger as penitents more than they did as criminals. That peculiar combination of trickster and bully, which was of old the characteristic of the dominant Southern politician, now reappears in the defeated demagogue and traitor in its most offensive form. They appear to consider their oath of allegiance as mere ceremonial forms of speech, whose binding obligation they can throw off without even a resort to the sophistry of Reverdy Johnson, and they take their pardons as compliments to the energy and skill they have shown in the work of treason. In short, they are occupied in substituting a rebellion of the tongue, and the ballot, and the bowie-knife, for the organized rebellion of arms which has just been crushed, and they count on receiving a sycophantic support in this enterprise from those classes at the North whose one hatred is "the nigger," and whose one belief is in "the Southern gentleman."

President Johnson, who thinks that "treason is a crime, and not a mere difference of opinion," has been somewhat surprised at finding that his applicants for pardon reverse his maxim, and consider treason a virtue on which pardon sets the seal of immortal fame. He has not been profuse in restoring members of the classes excepted in his proclamation of amnesty to their civil privileges, and he appears now convinced that greater abstinence in the exercise of clemency would have better served the interests of justice. He had a right to suppose that if a pardon did not work a change of heart, it would at least teach its recipient the policy of discretion, and a decent outside respect for constituted authority; but the spectacle of criminals, saved from punishment only to bully honest men, is more than his nature can bear.—*Boston Transcript.*

LETTER FROM A FREEDMAN TO HIS OLD MASTER.

The following is a genuine document. It was *dictated* by the old servant, and contains his ideas and forms of expression.

DAYTON, Ohio, Aug. 7, 1865.

To my old Master, Col. P. H. ANDERSON, *Big Spring, Tennessee.*

SIR: I got your letter, and was glad to find that you had not forgotten Jordan, and that you wanted me to come back and live with you again, promising to do better for me than anybody else can. I have often felt uneasy about you. I thought the Yankees would have hung you long before this for harboring rebs they found at your house. I suppose they never heard about your going to Col. Martin's to kill the Union soldier that was left by his company in their stable. Although you shot at me twice before I left you, I did not want to hear of your being hurt, and am glad you are still living. It would do me good to go back to the dear old home again, and see Miss Mary and Miss Martha and Allen, Esther, Green and Lee. Give my love to them all, and tell them I hope we will meet in the better world, if not in this. I would have gone back to see you all when I was working in the Nashville Hospital, but one of the neighbors told me Henry intended to shoot me if he ever got a chance.

I want to know particularly what the good chance is you propose to give me. I am doing tolerably well here; I get $25 a month, with victuals and clothing; have a comfortable home for Mandy, (the folks here call her Mrs. Anderson,) and the children, Milly, Jane and Grundy, go to school and are learning well; the teacher says Grundy has a head for a preacher. They go to Sunday-School, and Mandy and me attend church regularly. We are kindly treated; sometimes we overhear others saying, "Them colored people were slaves down in Tennessee." The children feel hurt when they hear such remarks, but I tell them it was no disgrace in Tennessee to belong to Col. Anderson. Many darkies would have been proud, as I used to was, to call you master. Now, if you will write and say what wages you will give me, I will be better able to decide whether it would be to my advantage to move back again.

As to my freedom, which you say I can have, there is nothing to be gained on that score, as I got my free-papers in 1864 from the Provost-Marshal-General of the Department at Nashville. Mandy says she would be afraid to go back without some proof that you are sincerely disposed to treat us justly and kindly—and we have concluded to test your sincerity by asking you to send us our wages for the time we served you. This will make us forget and forgive old sores, and rely on your justice and friendship in the future. I served you faithfully for thirty-two years, and Mandy twenty years. At $25 a month for me, and $2 a week for Mandy, our earnings would amount to $11,680. Add to this the interest for the time our wages has been kept back, and deduct what you paid for our cloth-ing and three doctor's visits to me, and pulling a tooth for Mandy, and the balance will show what we are in justice entitled to. Please send the money by Adams' Express, in care of V. Winters, Esq., Dayton, Ohio. If you fail to pay us for faithful labors in the past, we can have little faith in your promises in the future. We trust the good Maker has opened your eyes to the wrongs which you and your fathers have done to me and my fathers, in making us toil for you for generations without recompense. Here I draw my wages every Saturday night, but in Tennessee there was never any pay day for the negroes any more than for the horses and cows. Surely there will be a day of reckoning for those who defraud the laborer of his hire.

In answering this letter, please state if there are now grown up, and both good-looking girls. You know how it was with poor Matilda and Caldie, if it come to that, than have my girls brought to shame by the violence and wickedness of their young masters. You will also please state if there has been any schools opened for the colored children in your neighborhood. The great desire of my life now is to give my children an education, and have them form virtuous habits.

From your old servant,
GEORGE ANDERSON.

P. S.—Say howdy to George Carter, and thank him for taking the pistol from you when you were shooting at me.

GEN. LEE.

The following extract from the Chicago *Republican*, and from the pen of Dana, the late Assistant Secretary of War, takes a sensible view of "magnanimous" Gen. Lee and his cause:

"So long as Gen. Lee remains in this country, and is allowed not only to go about without punishment, but to proclaim disloyal and obnoxious opinions, such as he fought for against the United States, there will always be a feeling of dissatisfaction among loyal citizens. There is something intensely galling in the fact that the articles of convention between him and Grant were so loosely worded as to afford a loophole for the escape of such a traitor from the clutches of the law. Nothing could have been more unfortunate than this clerical lapsus. It tarnishes what would otherwise have been the spotless glory of the surrender on the part of our great General. A little lawyer cunning, a little less magnanimity and generosity toward a cruel and unscrupulous foe whom he had already vanquished, whose armies were at his mercy, outgeneraled and beaten at every point, would have left the rebel chief, who was the intellect and the heart of the ferocious war waged against us, to be dealt with according to the forms and usages of law.

* * * * * * * * *

"Lee has been extolled by secessionists, and all kinds of traitors in the North, as a great General, a pink and pattern of the chivalry, an exemplary gentleman. But we look in vain for the proof of any one of these allegations, in the actual life of the man. What are the great battles that he has won? Where are the evidences of his chivalry and gentility? They are illusive. A cold-blooded, commonplace, in every sense medium man, save in that quality of animal courage which he shares with the bull-dog, he stands before us to-day blackened by inhumanities for which language has no name.

"That this man, who has violated his parole by words of cheer and treason to his own soldiers when he sent them to their homes, by insolently holding a sort of levee in his house in Richmond, and declaring and defending his treason in the presence of United States armies—that this man should be allowed, on the specified grounds, to go scot free, is indeed a refinement of the sensibility of honor. If it be proper and fitting that the brutal murderer who kept the Andersonville prison should be tried for his life, and he but an instrument in the hands of Davis and Lee, upon what ground ought either of these—the intellectual originators of the entire scheme of cruelty which welters with the blood of Union soldiers all over the Confederacy—upon what ground ought either of these to escape?"

COURTING BY CORRESPONDENCE.

In the late "Romance of Fashionable Life" which has appeared in the newspapers, we are informed that G——, the man who deserted his family for perfectly promiscuous love-making, "went to Canada, where, by means of matrimonial advertisements, he opened correspondence with several ladies." As a general rule, a man who offers by advertisement or otherwise, "with a view to matrimony," to establish a correspondence with women unknown to him is a designing scamp, with whom it is perfectly safe for virtuous females, who desire to remain so, to have nothing whatever to do. We do not see how any woman with the slightest self-respect, and a reasonable share of common sense, can be inveigled into such a compromising and dangerous proceeding; but it is fair to consider how little experience many women, especially in the country-towns, have of the countless devices of the wicked; how many women are seeking to better a condition which sadly needs bettering; how many women are desperately desirous of being married—for which we do not blame them—because every woman should be married; how many are thoughtless, and enter into the affair "just for the fun of it." To the latter class we have simply to say that their "fun" may prove a sad and serious business. Let any girl who is inclined to begin a correspondence such as we have described, ask her brother what he thinks of it, and she will probably get an answer which will frighten her, by revealing the peril to which this apparently innocent temptation has exposed her. Or let such an one ask herself if a high-minded, honorable and true-hearted man, really desirous of a wife worthy of his affection, and fit to be the mother of his children, would be likely to advertise for a clerk or for a groom? We do not say that a happy and prosperous union might not grow out of such a negotiation; but we positively aver that the chances are ten thousand to one against it. It is more dubious than Ben Wood's Lottery, or Swindle & Co.'s last Great Gift Enterprise. There is very little chance of a marriage at all as the end of these disreputable beginnings, and still less of a happy one, should marriage be the result.

We are informed that epistolary gallantry of a questionable character has been among the favorite amusements of not a few ungentlemanly officers during the war. We use the word ungentlemanly with a perfect consciousness of its meaning. No soldier who respects himself, or the honor of the service, would be guilty of befooling credulous and inexperienced girls into writing letters to be roared over at the mess-table, or into sending photographs to be handed about and made the theme of ribald jests. We are by no means the advocates of private revenges; but if ever a poltroon deserved ignominious chastisement, it is he who dupes a woman into writing to him confidential letters, and then exhibits them to his comrades. But for this, should it occur, the woman has partly herself to blame. Her best instincts should have saved her from running such a risk.

There are fellows, not in the army, who advertise that women are wanted as "teachers," or as "governesses," or as "housekeepers." Those who answer their letters are requested to send their photographs. This is a more cruel jest than the other; because those who reply to such advertisements may reasonably suppose that their services are really required in the capacities indicated; and as there are thousands of women who are in pressing need of employment by which they can earn their daily bread, these rascals, no doubt, receive many replies and many pictures. A man who was required to send his photograph with his application would smell a swindle at once; but, besides priding themselves upon their personal attractions, and fancying them of more value than they really are, women are artless and unsophisticated, and too easily deluded. A man who can thus trifle with their credulity is such an ingrained and unmitigated blackguard that remonstrance with him would be pains wasted. We satisfy ourselves with this word of caution to those who may be his dupes.

—*N. Y. Tribune.*

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